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U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN



REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1968

Abbreviations and Short Forms

ACABQ	— Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
ACC	— Administrative Committee on Coordination
Committee of 14	— Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies
Committee of 24	— Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
Committee of 33	— Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations
ECA	— Economic Commission for Africa
ECAFE	— Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
ECE	— Economic Commission for Europe
ECLA	— Economic Commission for Latin America
ECOSOC	— Economic and Social Council
ENDC	— Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee
FAO	— Food and Agriculture Organization
GATT	— General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IAEA	— International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	— International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	— International Civil Aviation Organization
IDA	— International Development Association
ILO	— International Labor Organization
IMCO	— Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization
IMF	— International Monetary Fund
ITU	— International Telecommunication Union
NATO	— North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	— Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNCITRAL	— U.N. Commission on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	— U.N. Conference on Trade and Development
UNCURK	— U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea
UNDP	— U.N. Development Program
UNESCO	— U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	— U.N. Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	— Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	— U.N. Children's Fund
UNIDO	— U.N. Industrial Development Organization
UNITAR	— U.N. Institute for Training and Research
UNRWA	— U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNSCEAR	— U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation
UNTSO	— U.N. Truce Supervision Organization
UPU	— Universal Postal Union
WHO	— World Health Organization
WMO	— World Meteorological Organization

**U.S.
PARTICIPATION
IN THE UN**

**REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1968**

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

The President of the United States

To the Congress of the United States:

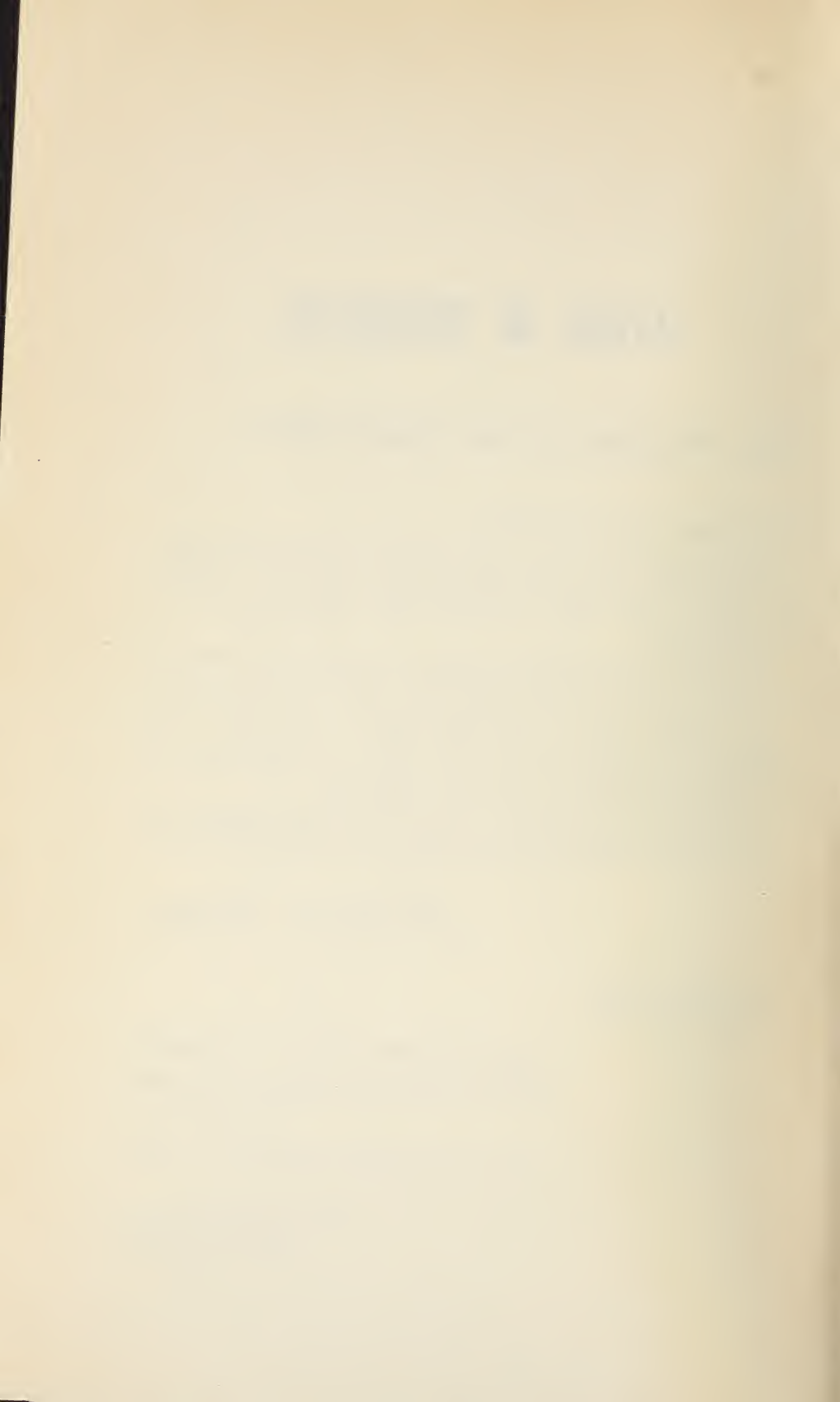
In accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, I am transmitting the 23rd annual report, covering the calendar year 1968, on United States participation in the United Nations.

The large number of topics covered, the number of U.N. agencies involved, and the increasing contributions of the United States to U.N. programs all show how important the United Nations has become to the peace, security, and welfare of the world. In the United States, support of the United Nations and participation in its many activities have always been nonpartisan.

I therefore take pleasure in transmitting to the Congress this report of the President on our participation in the United Nations.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Richard Nixon". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "R" and "N".

THE WHITE HOUSE,
October 27, 1969.



The Secretary of State to the President

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, August 20, 1969

THE PRESIDENT:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress), the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies for the year 1968 has therefore been prepared.

As in previous years, the report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "William P. Rogers". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

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*Maintenance
of Peace
and Security*

Part One

Disarmament and Arms Control

Nonproliferation Treaty

The ENDC¹ had failed in 1967 to reach agreement on an article dealing with safeguards left blank in the identical texts of the draft nonproliferation treaty tabled by the United States and the Soviet Union on August 24, 1967. There was optimism, however, that the co-chairmen were on the verge of agreement, and the 22d General Assembly adopted a resolution returning the negotiations to the ENDC with a request that it report to the General Assembly on the treaty by March 15, 1968. The resolution also provided that the Assembly President, after consultation, would then call a resumed session of the 22d Assembly to debate the treaty.

ENDC CONSIDERATION

The ENDC reconvened January 18, and on that date the United

¹ Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States. France has never participated. The United States and the U.S.S.R. serve as cochairmen of the Committee.

States and the Soviet Union submitted a revised draft treaty which included a safeguards article and a number of other changes.

Articles I and II, the basic provisions of the treaty, remained unchanged. They forbade the nuclear-weapon parties to transfer nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and prohibited the acquisition of such weapons or devices by the nonnuclear-weapon parties to the treaty.

The new article III provided that each nonnuclear-weapon party would undertake to accept safeguards to be set forth in an agreement to be concluded with the IAEA "for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfillment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices." The nonnuclear-weapon parties would conclude agreements with the IAEA "either individually or together with other States" in accordance with the IAEA Statute. When article III was tabled, the U.S. Representative, Adrian S. Fisher, Deputy Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament

Agency, enunciated three principles that had guided its formulation:

1. There should be safeguards for all nonnuclear-weapon parties of such a nature that all parties can have confidence in their effectiveness. Therefore safeguards established by an agreement negotiated and concluded with the IAEA in accordance with the Statute of the IAEA and the Agency's safeguards system must enable the IAEA to carry out its responsibility of providing assurance that no diversion is taking place.

2. In discharging their obligations under article III, nonnuclear-weapon parties may negotiate safeguards agreements with the IAEA individually or together with other parties; and, specifically, an agreement covering such obligations may be entered into between the IAEA and another international organization the work of which is related to the IAEA and the membership of which includes the parties concerned.

3. In order to avoid unnecessary duplication, the IAEA should make appropriate use of existing records and safeguards, provided that under such mutually-agreed arrangements IAEA can satisfy itself that nuclear material is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

A revised article IV assured the right of parties to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. A new article V provided that each party would undertake to cooperate to insure that potential benefits from peaceful nuclear explosions were made available to nonnuclear-weapon parties on a nondiscriminatory basis. A new article VI obliged the parties to negotiate in good faith on other disarmament measures, and article VII specifically permitted regional denuclearization treaties. The amendment procedure in article VIII was changed. Amendments would enter into force only for those who ratified them (rather than for all parties, as in the previous draft), after approval by a specified majority including all nuclear parties. Article IX provided that the treaty would enter into force after ratifications had been deposited by all nuclear-weapon signatories and 40 other nations.

The draft treaty was thoroughly discussed by the ENDC during the next 2 months. Although the basic provisions were accepted by most members, Brazil proposed to permit nonnuclear-weapon states to develop nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes. The cochairmen opposed this proposal because such devices are indistinguishable from nuclear weapons. They also rejected as unnecessary U.A.R. proposals to include language explicitly prohibiting nuclear proliferation by private organizations and individuals or assistance by one nuclear-weapon state to another.

Since the U.S.S.R. would not accept safeguards in connection with its peaceful nuclear activities, the treaty required only the nonnuclear-weapon parties to accept safeguards. Several nonnuclear-weapon countries therefore felt that the safeguards article was discriminatory. The United States and the United Kingdom had offered to place their peaceful nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards voluntarily after the treaty entered into force, and the U.S. Representative pointed out that the United States would place more peaceful activities under safeguards than any other party. He also said that existing IAEA safeguards were subject to change. Both cochairmen assured the nonnuclear-weapon countries that safeguards would not interfere with peaceful nuclear development.

Italy proposed to amend the peaceful-uses article to assure the "inalienable right" of all parties to obtain fissionable materials for peaceful purposes, and Nigeria asked whether this article meant that the nuclear-weapon parties would provide information regarding research on peaceful nuclear explosive devices. The U.S. Representative expressed the belief that the Italian fears were taken care of by the new language of the treaty and that no additional language was required since the

undertaking to cooperate for peaceful purposes included the supply of nuclear materials. He also stated that article IV covered the exchange of information on peaceful applications of nuclear explosions.

When Ethiopia expressed concern that the monopoly of the nuclear-weapon powers might permit them to charge excessively high prices for peaceful nuclear explosive services, the United States replied that it would keep the cost of the devices as low as possible and charge the same prices for domestic and foreign users. The U.S. Representative also noted that the cost of research and development would be borne by the nuclear-weapon powers.

The article on peaceful nuclear explosive services also encountered some criticism from the Swedish Representative, who noted that it would permit services under bilateral arrangements as well as through an international organization. She maintained that there should be international control of explosions carried out under bilateral arrangements and questioned whether peaceful nuclear explosions would be compatible with a future comprehensive test ban. The U.S. Representative explained that explosions under bilateral arrangements would be subject to international observation and that the non-nuclear-weapon state would not obtain either the devices or the nuclear explosive device technology. He also stated that the article in no way posed a legal impediment to a comprehensive test ban.

The cochairmen accepted a Swedish amendment designed to strengthen article VI on disarmament measures. In its revised form the article obliges parties to negotiate on measures for ending the nuclear arms race "at an early date" and on measures relating specifically to "nuclear" disarmament. The article, as before, also calls for negotiations on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict

and effective international control.

The cochairmen accepted a British amendment providing for a review conference to be held to consider whether the purposes of the preamble as well as the provisions of the treaty were being realized. They also accepted Swedish amendments adding a preambular paragraph on the comprehensive test ban and permitting a majority of the parties to request additional review conferences at 5-year intervals, but they rejected various proposals to change other provisions of the treaty. On March 11 they tabled a joint draft treaty incorporating the specific British and Swedish proposals.

The U.K. Representative joined the cochairmen in studying the question of security assurances to nonnuclear-weapon countries. On March 7 the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom submitted a draft Security Council resolution to the ENDC. In this draft the Security Council, noting the desire of many states to subscribe to the treaty, would take into account their security concerns, state that nuclear aggression would "endanger the peace and security of all States," and record that it:

1. Recognizes that aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a situation in which the Security Council, and above all its nuclear-weapon State permanent members, would have to act immediately in accordance with their obligations under the United Nations Charter;

2. Welcomes the intention expressed by certain States that they will provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used;

3. Reaffirms in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

The representatives of the three nuclear powers also outlined the declarations they intended to make when the Security Council acted on the draft resolution.

After the tabling of the revised draft treaty and the draft Security Council resolution, the ENDC prepared its report to the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission, and adjourned on March 14.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The 22d General Assembly reconvened on April 24 to consider the ENDC report and the March 11 joint draft treaty, attached to the report without comment or endorsement. On April 26 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, told the First Committee (Political and Security) that the draft treaty would serve three major purposes:

- (1) it would check the spread of nuclear weapons among nations,
- (2) it would facilitate international sharing of the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and
- (3) it would establish a "new and solemn treaty obligation" to continue efforts for nuclear disarmament and thereby promote progress toward general and complete disarmament.

He said that the draft treaty corresponded to repeated recommendations of the General Assembly and that nonnuclear states, especially the eight nonaligned members of the ENDC, had played a prominent part in the treaty negotiations. The treaty was not a creation of the United States or the Soviet Union, he stated, but "the creation of all nations, large and small." The basic provisions left no loopholes, and the safeguards would ensure that the door stayed locked.

He pledged that the United States would carry out the treaty obligations to contribute to the peaceful applications of nuclear energy in

other countries and that it would share the benefits of peaceful nuclear explosions with other parties. The treaty contained "the strongest and most meaningful undertaking that could be agreed upon" concerning disarmament, and the United States believed that its "permanent viability" would depend on the success of further disarmament negotiations.

He maintained that the treaty would contribute to a fair balance of obligations and benefits as between nuclear and nonnuclear states. The nonnuclear countries would be prohibited from acquiring nuclear weapons, and they would be required to accept safeguards. For their part, the nuclear powers had already accepted obligations under the limited test ban, outer space, and Antarctic treaties and now would be prohibited by the nonproliferation treaty from disseminating nuclear weapons. The treaty would also obligate them to promote the peaceful nuclear development of nonnuclear-weapon states and to provide those states with peaceful nuclear explosion services, as well as to pursue disarmament negotiations. The U.S. Representative declared that the interests of all nations would be best served by prompt General Assembly action. "Time is not on our side," he warned.

Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov also declared that it was necessary to act quickly on the treaty. Although the negotiations "were complicated and did not always proceed smoothly," they had been successfully completed. Since the draft treaty was the result of a collective effort by many countries, it bore a "certain imprint of compromise," but this did not sacrifice "the heart of the matter." It blocked "all forms of access to nuclear weapons" by nonnuclear nations and closed all channels leading to their possession. Since the nuclear powers would renounce the possibility of giving access to

nuclear weapons to individual states or groups of states and the non-nuclear nations would assume a reciprocal undertaking, all loopholes were closed. He pointed out that the treaty provided for adequate control, but that there would be no interference in the internal affairs of nonnuclear nations, including their peaceful nuclear activities.

In the debate that followed, many countries supported the treaty in principle, but expressed some of the same reservations that were expressed in the ENDC. These doubts were exacerbated by the feeling of some that the treaty had been prepared by the great nuclear powers who were now forcing it upon the General Assembly without consideration of the nonnuclear-weapon states' views.

The Brazilian Foreign Minister criticized the ban on the development and use of peaceful nuclear explosive devices by nonnuclear nations. He saw no "real and tangible commitment" to nuclear disarmament. The nuclear powers would enjoy a "privileged status" since they would not have to submit to IAEA safeguards. He did not regard the tripartite security assurances proposal as sufficient and considered a formal obligation not to use nuclear weapons against signatories as indispensable.

The Indian Representative declared that his country would not sign the treaty. He said that although the security of nonnuclear nations could ultimately be guaranteed only by nuclear disarmament, as an interim measure the nuclear-weapon states should assure the nonnuclear-weapon states that their security would not be threatened by the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. He declared that security assurances should not be made contingent on signing the nonproliferation treaty. He criticized the tripartite proposal because it would apply only to treaty signatories.

Discussing the security question

the U.S. Representative stated on May 15 that the tripartite proposal reflected the determination of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom to have assistance provided to any treaty party that became a victim of nuclear aggression. With the joint support of the three powers, there was a "firm foundation for an effective response by the Security Council." Moreover, the three nations had an "overwhelming preponderance" of nuclear power, and this would serve as a deterrent against nuclear aggression. He pointed out that the tripartite proposal also recognized the right of individual and collective self-defense under article 51 of the Charter. Finally, he declared, the treaty itself would enhance the security of the nonnuclear nations.

On May 1 the United States, the Soviet Union, and 18 other nations submitted a resolution endorsing the treaty. By the terms of this resolution, the General Assembly would also request the depositary governments—the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union—to open it for signature, express hope for the widest possible adherence to the treaty, and request the ENDC to pursue negotiations on nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. After a slight revision on May 3 an additional nine states joined as cosponsors.

On May 28 the sponsors of the May 3 draft resolution introduced a revised draft resolution. They changed the preamble to emphasize the importance of intensifying cooperation in peaceful nuclear activities, the right of treaty parties to engage in such activities, and the need to follow up the nonproliferation treaty with nuclear disarmament measures. They also added a new preambular paragraph reaffirming the principles of the U.N. Charter on the nonuse of force. In the revised draft the General Assem-

bly would commend the nonproliferation treaty rather than endorse it, and not only the ENDC but also the nuclear-weapon states were requested urgently to pursue disarmament negotiations. An additional 19 countries subsequently cosponsored the new draft resolution.

Taking into account the comments made during the First Committee discussion, the U.S. and Soviet delegations submitted a revised draft treaty on May 31. The preambular declaration of intention now included undertaking "effective measures in the direction of nuclear disarmament" and a new preambular paragraph was added recalling the principles of the Charter limiting the use of force. Article IV was changed to stress the right of parties to acquire nuclear materials and equipment. A reference to the particular "needs of the developing areas of the world" was also added. Article V was revised to assure that negotiations on international arrangements for peaceful nuclear explosive services would begin as soon as the treaty came into force, and to provide clearly for appropriate international supervision.

The names of the depositary governments—the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union—were inserted in article IX, and the treaty would enter into force when instruments of ratification had been deposited by these three states (rather than all nuclear signatories, as in the March 11 draft) and 40 other signatories.

The U.S. Representative said that the revised draft resolution and draft treaty were "the product of a wide effort to arrive at a generally acceptable consensus" and responded to suggestions by many states. The revised entry into force provisions should meet the concern of those who feared that a nuclear-weapon state would frustrate the treaty by signing and then failing to ratify. The United States was confident that safeguards would not impose any industrial, economic, or other

burdens, he said, since the IAEA safeguards were not applied to uranium mines or ore-processing plants, and the draft treaty would not require any change in existing procedures.

On June 10 the First Committee approved the revised resolution by a vote of 92 to 4, with 22 abstentions. The majority included the United States, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., Canada, Chile, China, Israel, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, South Africa, Sweden, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia. The four countries opposing the resolution were Albania, Cuba, Tanzania, and Zambia; Brazil, Burma, France, India, and Spain were among the abstainers. On June 12 the plenary adopted the Committee-approved text by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 4, with 21 abstentions.

After the vote on June 12 President Johnson addressed the General Assembly. Pledging American determination "to make this but a first step toward ending the peril of nuclear war," he called the treaty the most important disarmament agreement since the beginning of the nuclear age. He stated that the United States would move quickly to open the treaty for signature and to seek prompt ratification, and declared that the United States urgently desired to begin early discussions on the limitation of strategic offensive and defensive nuclear weapon systems. The United States also wished, he said, "to reverse the buildup of nuclear arsenals" and "to find new ways to eliminate the threat of conventional conflicts that might grow into nuclear disaster."

SECURITY ASSURANCES

That same day the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union submitted to the Security Council the proposal they had tabled in the ENDC on March 7 (see p. 3) dealing with nuclear aggression or threats of aggression against nonnuclear-weapon states. Ambassador Goldberg

on June 17 read to the Security Council the following formal U.S. declaration:

The Government of the United States notes with appreciation the desire expressed by a large number of states to subscribe to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

We welcome the willingness of these states to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

The United States also notes the concern of certain of these states that, in conjunction with their adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security. Any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all states.

Bearing these considerations in mind, the United States declares the following:

Aggression with nuclear weapons, or the threat of such aggression, against a non-nuclear-weapon state would create a qualitatively new situation in which the nuclear-weapon states which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take the measures necessary to counter such aggression or to remove the threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which calls for taking "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace." Therefore, any state which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression must be aware that its actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress the aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

The United States affirms its intention, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

The United States reaffirms in partic-

ular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defense if an armed attack, including a nuclear attack, occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

The United States vote for the resolution before us and this statement of the way in which the United States intends to act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations are based upon the fact that the resolution is supported by other permanent members of the Security Council who are nuclear-weapon states and are also proposing to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and that these states have made similar statements as to the way in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter.

The United Kingdom and the Soviet Union made substantially identical declarations.

In the ensuing debate the U.S. Representative said that the resolution and the declarations would lay a firm basis for ensuring the security of nonnuclear-weapon parties to the nonproliferation treaty. While perfect security was not possible, each nonnuclear member should ask, "Will these security assurances, combined with the nonproliferation treaty, give this country *more* security than it would otherwise enjoy?" The United States was confident, he said, that careful appraisal in this light would result in an affirmative answer.

On June 19 the Security Council approved the tripartite resolution by a vote of 10 to 0, with 5 abstentions (Algeria, Brazil, France, India, Pakistan).

SIGNING OF THE TREATY

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was opened for signature at Washington, London, and Moscow on July 1. More than 60 countries, including the United States, United Kingdom, and U.S.S.R., signed it that same day in one or more of the depositary cities. By the end of the year an

additional 24 states had signed and three—Ireland, Nigeria, the United Kingdom—had ratified the treaty.

Second ENDC Session

The second ENDC session during 1968, meeting in Geneva July 16–August 28, opened in an atmosphere of accomplishment. The work of the session was guided largely by the terms of a 22d General Assembly resolution which requested the ENDC and the nuclear-weapon states “urgently to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.”

President Johnson sent a message to the ENDC for its opening meeting stressing the responsibility of parties to the nonproliferation treaty to pursue measures to halt the nuclear arms race. He noted that the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to begin bilateral discussions on the limitation and reduction of offensive and defensive strategic missile systems. He also suggested that timely subjects for discussion included arms limitations on the seabed, regional arms limitations on conventional armaments, and the sharing of potential benefits from nuclear explosions.

The ENDC also had before it a memorandum issued by the Soviet Union on July 1 entitled “Some Urgent Measures for Stopping the Arms Race and for Disarmament” which proposed early agreement on the following measures: (1) prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, (2) stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons and reducing and destroying stockpiles, (3) limitation

and reduction of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, (4) prohibition of flights beyond national borders of bombers carrying nuclear weapons and limitation of navigation zones for rocket-carrying submarines, (5) an underground test ban, (6) prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, (7) elimination of foreign military bases, (8) regional disarmament, and (9) peaceful uses of the seabed and ocean floor.

NUCLEAR MEASURES

Among the various proposals put forward, the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban was considered by a majority of the delegates to be the most urgent. Several new approaches were suggested for breaking the longstanding impasse over verification. The United Kingdom on August 20 proposed (1) the establishment of a special seven-member committee to consider complaints of treaty infringement, with on-site inspection to be exercised only if the committee agreed by a 5 to 2 majority that a *prima facie* case existed, and (2) an agreed annual quota of underground tests on a descending scale over a period of 4 or 5 years, after which no further tests would be allowed. In a working paper of August 23, Italy proposed that governments clear peaceful nuclear explosions through the United Nations. Regulation of explosions for military purposes would be left aside until such time as conflicting positions on verification procedures could be reconciled.

Sweden, urging the Committee to begin work on the actual text of a draft treaty, outlined a possible format and terms based on verification by challenge. Noting the improvement of seismological techniques, Sweden said it was not prepared to accept the idea of obligatory on-site inspection. The

United States maintained the need for some on-site inspections, while the Soviets continued to oppose such inspections. On August 26 the eight nonaligned delegations tabled a joint memorandum urging conclusion of a comprehensive test ban and suspension of all nuclear weapon tests pending its conclusion.

Closely related to the question of a comprehensive test ban was that of peaceful nuclear explosions and implementation of the terms of article V of the nonproliferation treaty. Several delegates pointed out that the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty would necessitate special arrangements for carrying out peaceful nuclear explosions if technological advances in that area were to continue. William Foster, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, pointed out that certain aspects of the application of peaceful nuclear explosive technology still remained to be worked out, but he assured the nonnuclear-weapon countries that the United States would do all it could, within reason, to provide them with the benefits of nuclear technology, in accordance with the nonproliferation treaty.

The limitation and reduction of strategic missile systems was acknowledged to be a matter for bilateral discussion between the United States and the Soviet Union, although members requested that the Committee be kept informed, insofar as possible, on the progress of the proposed talks. Other nuclear measures advanced for consideration included (1) the Soviet proposal for a treaty prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and the reduction and elimination of stockpiles, (2) the fissionable materials production cut-off and transfer to peaceful purposes previously proposed by the United States, and (3) nuclear-free zones.

NONNUCLEAR MEASURES

In this category chemical and biological weapons were a major point of emphasis. The United Kingdom submitted a working paper suggesting clarification and strengthening of the provisions of the Geneva Protocol of 1925.¹ Advocating separate treatment for chemical and biological weapons, the United Kingdom sought, as a first step, an agreement that would outlaw the use, production, and possession of microbiological weapons. The Soviets and their allies were critical of the suggestion of possible revision of the Geneva Protocol and argued that universal adherence and strict observance of its provisions were more important than its modernization. The United Kingdom also proposed a study by the U.N. Secretary-General on chemical weapons. However, a consensus developed for a study that would include both chemical and biological weapons. The United States said it could support a study that treated chemical and biological weapons either separately or together, but that this did not mean it had made a decision regarding revision of the Geneva Protocol.

Regional arms limitations and the control of conventional weapons also attracted considerable interest. In his message to the ENDC, President Johnson had stated that the United States stood ready to support any reasonable measure affecting the activities of the major weapons producers that would make a regional agreement more effective, including a requirement that suppliers publicize or register their arms shipments to a particular region.

¹ Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

OTHER COLLATERAL MEASURES

The question of arms control on the seabed was included for the first time in an ENDC discussion. President Johnson's message said the ENDC should "begin to define" factors vital for an effective agreement that would prevent weapons of mass destruction from being emplaced in that environment. Italy suggested the possibility of a joint formal declaration banning military explosions and a moratorium on peaceful explosions, pending establishment of international regulations safeguarding the interests of all nations. The Soviet Union and its allies took the position that any agreement should ban all military uses of the seabed beyond territorial waters, preserving that environment exclusively for peaceful purposes. Both India and the U.A.R. also favored reserving the seabed environment for peaceful uses only, India suggesting that, as a first step, the ENDC could adopt a declaration to that effect.

AGENDA AND INTERIM REPORT

On August 15 the ENDC adopted the provisional agenda presented by the cochairmen for the Committee's future work. Formulated on the basis of views expressed in the Committee and the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the agenda consisted of the following topics:

(1) nuclear disarmament measures, such as a comprehensive test ban, nonuse of nuclear weapons, cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapons use, cessation of the manufacture of weapons, reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear stockpiles, and nuclear-free zones;

(2) nonnuclear measures, such as chemical and biological warfare and regional arms limitations;

(3) other collateral measures, such as prevention of an arms race on the seabed; and

(4) general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

The ENDC recessed August 28 after adopting its report to the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission. In addition to providing a review of the Committee's work during the session and including the agenda described above, the report recommended that the Secretary-General appoint a group of experts to study the effects of the possible use of chemical and bacteriological means of warfare.

Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States

Pursuant to resolutions of the General Assembly at its 21st and 22d sessions, the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States convened on August 29. Ninety-two non-nuclear-weapon states, members of the United Nations or specialized agencies, attended. The nuclear powers were invited to participate without the right to vote, and the United States, United Kingdom, and France attended in this capacity. The Peking Telegraph Office refused to accept the Secretary-General's message concerning invitations to the nuclear powers.

During its early sessions the Conference elected Arshad Husain of Pakistan as its president. It also established two main committees: Committee I to deal with questions of security and disarmament (chaired by Hector Gros Espiell of Uruguay), and Committee II to deal with the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and nuclear explosions (chaired by Burudi Nabwera of Kenya).

Coming in the wake of the signing of the nonproliferation treaty, the Conference represented primarily an effort by many nonnuclear-weapon states to define obligations that they

felt the nuclear powers should assume in return for the undertaking by other states to forbear from acquiring nuclear weapons. With varying degrees of support, the Conference considered nuclear power responsibilities, particularly with respect to both negative (nonuse) and positive security assurances, assistance in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy including peaceful nuclear explosives, and nuclear disarmament.

There were discussions looking toward establishment of new organizational arrangements for the provision of peaceful nuclear explosive services, reflecting a sentiment among many nonnuclear states that the IAEA was too heavily dominated by the major powers. Similarly, there was considerable support for institutionalizing the nonnuclear conference or establishing a committee of the General Assembly with responsibility over the same range of issues. The Latin Americans, in particular, pressed for holding a special international conference on these subjects.

The nuclear powers did not speak at the Conference, but the United States, United Kingdom, and U.S.S.R. argued strongly in informal discussions with other delegations that: (1) the June 19 resolution of the Security Council (see p. 7) was all that could realistically be expected of the nuclear powers in the way of positive security assurances; (2) adequate organizations already existed in the fields of peaceful uses (the IAEA), disarmament (the ENDC), and security (the United Nations and particularly the Security Council), and additional institutional arrangements would hinder the achievement of the desired goals in these areas. Many delegations supported these positions during the Conference.

The Conference adopted 14 resolutions which it included in its final report to the 23d General Assembly. Major provisions of these resolutions are summarized below.

Resolution A (sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany;

adopted by a vote of 56 to 5, with 26 abstentions) reaffirmed the principle of the nonuse of force and the prohibition of the threat of force in relations between states.

Resolution B (sponsored by 16 Latin American states; adopted 74 to 0, with 10 abstentions) considered that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones is one of the measures which can contribute most effectively to halting proliferation, and regretted that not all the nuclear-weapon powers had signed Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

Resolution C (sponsored by 21 countries; adopted 76 to 0, with 8 abstentions) requested the General Assembly at its 23d session to recommend that the ENDC begin not later than March 1969 to undertake negotiations for (1) prevention of further development and improvement of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles, (2) a comprehensive test ban treaty as "a matter of high priority," (3) immediate cessation of the production of fissile materials for weapons purposes and the stoppage of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and (4) reduction and subsequent elimination of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

Resolution D (sponsored by Pakistan; adopted 79 to 0, with 5 abstentions) urged the U.S.S.R. and the United States to enter at an early date into bilateral discussions on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defense against ballistic missiles.

Resolution E (sponsored by Pakistan; adopted 34 to 8, with 41 abstentions) recommended the acceptance by all nonnuclear states of the IAEA system of safeguards.

Resolution F (sponsored by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain, and Switzerland; adopted 35 to 5, with 45 abstentions) recommended (1) the estab-

lishment, within the IAEA and under its Board of Governors, of institutional machinery on safeguards, of which both suppliers of nuclear materials and other member countries should form part; and (2) that the IAEA simplify the safeguard procedures through use of instruments and other technical devices at certain strategic points.

Resolution G (sponsored by 16 Latin American states; adopted 69 to 0, with 1 abstention) requested the Secretary-General to appoint a group of experts "to prepare a full report on all possible contributions of nuclear technology to the economic and scientific advancement of the developing countries."

Resolution H (sponsored by Austria, Denmark, Finland, Japan, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland; adopted 51 to 15, with 10 abstentions) recommended that the IAEA undertake studies on arrangements to facilitate exchange of scientific and technical information, on ways to increase funds available for technical assistance, on effective means to ensure access to special fissionable materials, and on its possible role in regard to nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes; and expressed the assumption that the IAEA would examine its procedures, as well as the composition of its Board of Governors, with a view to adapting them as necessary in the light of its new responsibilities.

Resolution I (sponsored by Pakistan; adopted 70 to 0, with 4 abstentions) recommended that the IAEA examine the basis on which it could secure finances from international sources for the creation of a "Special Nuclear Fund" to provide loans and grants for nuclear projects.

Resolution J (sponsored by 15 Latin American states and Jamaica; adopted 51 to 0, with 22 abstentions) requested the General Assembly to consider at its 23d session the establishment within the UNDP of a nuclear technology development program for the benefit of

developing countries; requested the World Bank to consider establishing a similar program; and invited the nuclear-weapon states to assume the main responsibility for financing the two programs.

Resolution K (sponsored by Cameroon, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia; adopted 47 to 0, with 29 abstentions) recommended that the IAEA broaden the representation on its Board of Governors to reflect equitable geographical distribution and the views of a broad spectrum of developing countries.

Resolution L (sponsored by Sweden and Nigeria; adopted 61 to 0, with 16 abstentions) endorsed the opinion that the question of peaceful nuclear explosions is closely linked to a comprehensive test ban, and expressed its conviction of the "urgent need" both to obtain a comprehensive test ban treaty, and to create a separate international instrument for regulating and controlling all explosions for peaceful purposes as exceptions from the general prohibition under a comprehensive test ban.

Resolution M (sponsored by Pakistan; adopted 37 to 0, with 43 abstentions) requested all nuclear-weapon states and nonnuclear-weapon states in a position to do so "to provide access for students and scientists for purposes of training and acquisition of knowledge on a nondiscriminatory basis to their scientific institutions and nuclear establishments engaged in research and development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy."

Resolution N (sponsored by Brazil; adopted 75 to 0, with no abstentions) invited the General Assembly at its 23d session "to consider the best ways and means for the implementation of the decisions taken by the Conference" and to consider at a subsequent session the question of convening a second Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States.

The provisions of the "Declara-

tion of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States" reaffirmed the universal responsibilities and obligations of states to guarantee peace, security, and development in the world and reflected the recommendations contained in the conference resolutions.

23d General Assembly

In his general debate address in the 23d General Assembly on October 2, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, after acknowledging the blow that recent events in Czechoslovakia had dealt to international confidence, said:

... But progress in nuclear arms control, to which great-power cooperation is particularly essential, is not a narrow interest of any one power or group of powers, great or small; it is an urgent and overriding interest of the human race in sheer survival. No matter what our differences, we all live on the same planet and we all have certain elemental human needs—one of the greatest of which is to be freed from the waste and danger of arms races, both nuclear and conventional, throughout the world.

We are prepared to continue to work for a number of arms control measures now pending in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. We would be ready to explore the feasibility of a viable and effective agreement to prevent the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the ocean floor. My Government, for its part, maintains great interest in the major goals we have thus far pursued in the arms control field.

The Assembly's First Committee had before it five disarmament agenda items, of which three were based on the ENDC report. The two remaining ones were the Soviet memorandum of July 1 to the ENDC concerning urgent measures to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament (see p. 8) and the final document of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, including the request to the General Assembly to consider implementation of the Conference's decisions.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CONFERENCE DECISIONS

Since there was no agreement on the order of priority for discussion of the disarmament items, the First Committee discussed them as a group November 12–22, November 27–December 10, and December 17. However, the implementation of the Conference decisions was foremost in the minds of many delegates. As at the Conference, the question of creating additional institutions or holding further conferences in the fields of disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy played a prominent role.

On November 19 Mr. Foster set out the U.S. position on implementing the Conference decisions. He described in some detail the extent of the work of the IAEA in peaceful international atomic cooperation and the substantial support given by the United States to these efforts. He also described the sizable quantities of fissionable materials the United States had made available to foreign countries. With respect to the future, he stated:

Our current enrichment facilities should be capable of handling all foreseeable demands at reasonable prices through the late 1970's. Moreover, when additional enrichment capacity is needed we are confident that U.S. industry or the U.S. Government will have it installed on the desired time scale.

He also reiterated the U.S. position that the IAEA is the proper agency for carrying out the international responsibilities with respect to peaceful nuclear explosion services contemplated in article V of the non-proliferation treaty. The United States, he said, supported the decision of the IAEA General Conference that the composition of its Board of Governors be examined and the IAEA role with respect to peaceful nuclear explosion services be studied.

Mr. Foster emphasized that although the United States realized

there was much to be done with respect to peaceful uses of nuclear energy and supported study and action by existing bodies and individual states, it did not believe it either necessary or desirable to create a new institution, such as a U.N. committee. He said:

The United States Government would like to see a resolution emerge from our deliberations which would ask the existing bodies to work on the problems which the nonnuclear conference resolutions ask them to work on; which would request the relevant bodies, after this work has progressed, to submit reports to a subsequent General Assembly on the progress they have made; and which would provide for a subsequent General Assembly to determine whether progress was adequate and what steps should be taken in the future. As I stated before, we also support the inclusion in a resolution of a proposal that the Secretary-General appoint a group of experts to prepare a report on all possible contributions of nuclear technology to the economic and scientific advancement of the developing countries.

The U.S. Representative also stressed the importance of the security assurances given in connection with the nonproliferation treaty. He emphasized that the United Nations remained the best hope for achieving security on a universal basis.

The Soviet Union also took a strong line against the creation of any new bodies to consider peaceful uses of nuclear energy or security assurances.

On December 3 Japan, along with Australia, Austria, Canada, Finland, and the Netherlands, tabled a draft resolution which, *inter alia*, endorsed the Declaration of the Conference, noted its resolutions, and asked the Secretary-General to submit a report on the action taken by the bodies concerned on the recommendations of the Conference and to appoint a group of experts to prepare a report on all possible contributions of nuclear technology to the economic and scientific advancement of the developing countries.

On December 5 Argentina, Brazil,

Chile, Italy, Pakistan, and Yugoslavia tabled a draft resolution along the same lines except that it endorsed specific Conference resolutions and decided to convene the U.N. Disarmament Commission to consider nuclear disarmament, security assurances, and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Attempts to include provision for establishing a special committee to deal with peaceful nuclear explosion services and for convening another conference of nonnuclear-weapon states had been dropped in the drafting stage.

On the same day Bulgaria and Hungary tabled a draft resolution that avoided any recognition of specific recommendations of the Conference.

On December 13 Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Finland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, and Pakistan (later joined by Dahomey and Peru) tabled a compromise draft resolution very similar to the December 3 draft except that it included a provision for adding to the agenda of the 24th General Assembly the question of convening early in 1970 a meeting of the U.N. Disarmament Commission to consider disarmament and the related question of the security of nations.

On December 17 the earlier draft resolutions were withdrawn and the First Committee adopted the compromise text by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 8, with 6 abstentions. In a separate vote, paragraph 1, which endorsed the Declaration of the Conference, was adopted 84 to 8, with 10 abstentions (U.S.). The U.S. Representative stated that since the United States did not have a vote at the Conference it should not be asked to endorse the final Declaration. The plenary accepted the Committee-approved text on December 20 by a vote of 103 to 7 (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), with 5 absten-

tions (Cuba, Guinea, Malawi, Mauritania, Syria).

This resolution did not specifically endorse the decisions of the Conference. However, three other resolutions introduced in the Committee on December 13 reiterated some of the points previously contained in the resolutions adopted at the Conference.

First, 22 Latin American states, Italy, Canada, the Netherlands, and Pakistan (later joined by Ireland) tabled a draft resolution calling for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and for full compliance by the nuclear-weapon powers "as soon as possible" with paragraph 4 of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in December 1967 that invited powers possessing nuclear weapons to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. This draft resolution was approved in committee on December 17 by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions, and adopted in plenary on December 20 by a vote of 98 (U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R.).

Second, 19 Latin American states, Austria, Iran, Italy, and Pakistan (later joined by Ireland) tabled a draft resolution under which the General Assembly would:

(1) request the Secretary-General to prepare a report on the establishment, within the framework of the IAEA, of an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, under appropriate international control; and

(2) request the Secretary-General to transmit the report to the governments in time to permit its consideration at the 24th session of the General Assembly.

This resolution was adopted in committee on December 17 by a vote of 59 to 9, with 35 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because it believed the study would

duplicate work already being done by the IAEA and complicate the relationship between the IAEA and the United Nations. The United States hoped, in any event, that the study would use the expertise of the IAEA in this field. The plenary on December 20 adopted this resolution by a vote of 75 to 9 (U.K., U.S.S.R.), with 30 abstentions (France, U.S.).

Third, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Finland, Iran, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, and Pakistan (later joined by Ireland and Peru) submitted a draft resolution under which the General Assembly would urge the U.S.S.R. and the United States to enter at an early date into bilateral discussions on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defense against ballistic missiles. This resolution was adopted in committee on December 17 by a vote of 97 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, and in plenary on December 20 by 108 (U.S., U.K., U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 7 abstentions (France).

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

A number of proposals were considered under the agenda item General and Complete Disarmament. On November 18 a draft resolution prepared by Canada and Poland was tabled with eight other cosponsors (Denmark, Ghana, Hungary, India, Mexico, Sweden, U.A.R., U.K.)—later joined by Australia, Austria, Belgium, Chile, Ethiopia, Finland, Iran, Mauritania, Mongolia, the Netherlands, and Pakistan—asking the Secretary-General to prepare by July 1, 1969, if possible, a concise report on the effects of the possible use of chemical, bacteriological, and other biological weapons. The preamble of this draft noted the ENDC request to the Secretary-General for such a study and the comments of the Secretary-General in his annual report for 1967-68 welcoming

the suggestion. In a statement on December 5, Mr. Foster expressed U.S. support for the draft resolution and suggested that the study deal equally and individually with the effects of chemical and biological weapons, since there were scientific and technological differences between them.

On December 10 the resolution was approved in the First Committee by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. On December 17 the plenary adopted the Committee-approved text by a vote of 107 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

On November 21 Denmark tabled a draft resolution cosponsored by Iceland, Malta, and Norway calling on the Secretary-General to ascertain the position of member states on an arms registry on the transfer of conventional arms. On December 5 Mr. Foster indicated U.S. approval of the proposal, but the opposition of others led the Danish Representative to withdraw the draft resolution.

The eight nonaligned members of the ENDC (later joined by Bulgaria and Romania) on November 25 tabled a draft resolution requesting the ENDC to continue its work on general and complete disarmament and referring to the ENDC all documents and records of the First Committee relating to disarmament matters. In its preamble the resolution noted the Soviet disarmament memorandum of July 1 and recalled previous General Assembly resolutions on the elimination of foreign bases and on the nonuse of nuclear weapons. The resolution was adopted in committee on December 10 by a vote

of 109 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions, and in plenary on December 20 by the same vote.

In view of the references in this resolution to the Soviet memorandum of July 1 and the elimination of foreign bases, the U.S.S.R. did not press these issues.

SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR TESTS

In connection with the agenda item on the urgent need for the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, the eight nonaligned members of the ENDC (later joined by Chile, Denmark, Finland, Libya, and New Zealand) submitted on November 21 a draft resolution along the lines of the one adopted in 1967 by the 22d General Assembly. The resolution urged all states that have not done so to adhere to the nuclear test ban treaty; called upon all states to suspend nuclear-weapon tests in all environments; hoped states would contribute to an effective international exchange of seismic data; and requested the ENDC to take up as a matter of urgency the elaboration of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests and to report to the 23d General Assembly.

Mr. Foster reiterated the U.S. position on the need for on-site inspections, and described a U.S. proposal for additional international cooperation in seismic studies in connection with nuclear explosions.

On December 10 the First Committee adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 108 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions, and the plenary on December 20 approved this text 109 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions.

Outer Space

The major U.N. accomplishment in the field of outer space during 1968 was the first international conference on the practical applications of space science. In addition the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space met in New York October 15-18. Of the two subcommittees of the Outer Space Committee, only the Legal Subcommittee met. The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee meeting was postponed until the spring of 1969 because of the similarity of its work to that of the international conference.

U.N. Space Conference

Seventy-eight countries and 13 international organizations and specialized agencies took part in the U.N. Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Held in Vienna, August 14-27, the Conference was the first to be devoted to the practical applications of space technology. Its principal aim was to identify and describe, primarily for the benefit of developing countries, the uses of space that directly affect economic and social progress. Some 200 papers were presented at the Conference; of these, 49 were by American scientists, government officials, and industry representatives.

The Conference was conducted as a symposium and divided into nine thematic sessions which were arranged to cover the following topics: communications, meteorology, navigation, other space techniques of practical benefit, biology and medicine, nonspace applications of space technology, education and training,

international cooperation, and economic, legal, and social problems. The structure of the Conference and the topics covered accorded with the U.S. view that the Conference should focus on the practical applications of space science, and should not duplicate existing channels for the exchange of scientific information.

Two proposals grew out of the Space Conference, both designed to provide advice and technical assistance to countries concerned with making the most economic possible use of space technology. These proposals, which in different ways attempted to strengthen U.N. machinery in the field of space applications, were put forward by India and Sierra Leone at the October meeting of the Outer Space Committee. The Committee referred them to the March 1969 meeting of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee for detailed consideration.

The United States strongly supported the principle behind these proposals. Speaking before the Outer Space Committee on October 15, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador J. Russell Wiggins, expressed the belief that the United Nations should play an increasingly active part in providing impartial analytical advice on the role of space applications in economic development. Developing countries, he emphasized, face "insistent, competing demands for limited resources. Space techniques must compete with conventional methods for these resources and must prove that they are more efficient or less costly." The United Nations, he concluded, is well-suited to considering "the question of when a space application is more economic than a conventional method, and how it fits into the over-all development of a country"

Legal Subcommittee

The Legal Subcommittee of the Outer Space Committee held its seventh session at Geneva June 4-28. It considered two items: (1) liability for damages caused by the launching of objects into outer space, and (2) questions related to the definition and utilization of outer space.

Principal attention was devoted to the negotiation of a draft liability convention. The Subcommittee had before it drafts submitted by the United States, Belgium, and Hungary, and in the course of the discussions India and Italy also submitted draft conventions.

The U.S. draft attempted to give concrete expression to the principle of the Outer Space Treaty that a state party to the Treaty is internationally liable to another state party for damages caused by an object launched into outer space from its territory. The draft sought to establish a fair and expeditious way of determining claims for personal injury and property damage caused by space objects.

The 22d General Assembly on December 19, 1967, had called upon the Outer Space Committee "to complete urgently the preparation of the draft agreement on liability . . . and to submit it to the Assembly at . . . [its 23rd] session." Ambassador Goldberg had pledged the full and unstinting efforts of the United States to this end. The Subcommittee was nevertheless unable to fulfill its mandate and made little progress toward completion of a liability convention, principally because of the attitude of the U.S.S.R. Ambassador Wiggins, speaking before the First Committee of the 23d General Assembly on December 18, 1968, noted that the Subcommittee session had been a failure because not all members had been willing "to negotiate

meaningfully toward a satisfactory text . . . [or] to advance beyond rigid and outdated positions."

At the close of the Legal Subcommittee session, six issues were still unresolved: (1) whether the convention should exclude nuclear damage, (2) whether there should be any limitation on the amount of liability, (3) whether the convention should provide compulsory third-party settlement of disputes, (4) the relationship between international organizations and the convention, (5) the law applicable to measure of damages, and (6) unresolved aspects of joint liability. Some differences were narrowed in the course of informal consultations in New York during November and December; for example, the Soviet Union agreed to the inclusion of nuclear damage. An important remaining issue at the end of the year was whether the convention should provide for arbitration. On this question Ambassador Wiggins told the General Assembly on December 18:

The United States shares the view of most members of the Outer Space Committee that the liability convention must provide some way of resolving a dispute over a claim upon which a claimant and the launching state have not been able to agree. If negotiations have not led to a mutually acceptable result within a reasonable time, a dissatisfied claimant state should be able to invoke the jurisdiction of an impartial tribunal with the power to decide upon the existence of liability and the amount, if any, for which the launching state should be held liable.

On December 20, in a resolution adopted unanimously, the 23d Assembly again requested the Outer Space Committee "to complete urgently the preparation of a draft agreement on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space and to submit it to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session."

Direct Broadcast Satellites Working Group

On December 20 a working group to consider questions relating to direct broadcasting from satellites to home and village receivers was established by unanimous agreement of the 23d General Assembly on the recommendation of the Outer Space Committee. The purpose of the working group is "to study and report on the technical feasibility of communication by direct broadcast from satellites and the current and foreseeable developments in this field, including comparative user costs and other economic considerations, as well as the implications of such developments in the social, cultural, legal and other areas"

The principal initiative for the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites came from Sweden and Canada. The United States supported the proposal, making clear its view that the logical order in which to approach the questions associated with direct broadcasting was to study technical feasibility

first, and then, on the basis of that study's conclusions, to consider the nontechnical implications of the technology. This order of work was accepted by the Outer Space Committee.

Astronaut Agreement

The Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts, and the Return of Objects Launched Into Outer Space, which was negotiated and unanimously endorsed by the United Nations in 1967, entered into force on December 3, 1968. By that date, 66 states had signed the Agreement in Washington and 5 had deposited their ratifications. The Secretary of State signed the Agreement for the United States at a ceremony held in Washington on April 22, 1968; similar signing ceremonies were held on the same date in London and Moscow, the other depositary capitals. The Senate gave its unanimous advice and consent to ratification on October 8, and the President ratified the Agreement on October 18.

Seabed and Ocean Floor

On December 18, 1967, the General Assembly adopted a resolution creating a 35-member¹ *Ad Hoc*

¹ Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Iceland, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Malta, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Thailand, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Yugoslavia.

Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. The *Ad Hoc* Committee was asked to prepare a report for the 23d General Assembly with the cooperation of the Secretary-General.

In preparation for the Committee's meetings, the Secretary-General in a note of January 5 asked all

U.N. members to express their views on the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report. On February 20 the United States replied, reiterating its support for the *Ad Hoc* Committee and setting forth a number of specific scientific, technical, economic, legal, and other questions it thought the Committee should consider. The U.S. reply also referred to President Johnson's proposal, in his state of the Union message of January 17, to "launch, with other nations, an exploration of the ocean depths to tap its wealth and its energy and its abundance," and recommended the early development of general principles to govern the activities of states and their nationals in the exploration and use of the ocean floor.

Ad Hoc Committee Discussions

The Committee's initial session, March 18-27 in New York, was devoted to organizational matters and to consideration of its program of work. This Committee established two working groups of the whole, one to consider economic and technical aspects and the other to consider legal aspects, and retained for itself discussion of all remaining matters, such as the scientific aspects and the practical means to promote international cooperation in the exploration, conservation, and use of the ocean floor. In summarizing the work program of the Committee and of the two working groups, the chairman (Ambassador H. S. Amerasinghe of Ceylon) referred specifically to the U.S. proposals for the designation of the 1970's as an international decade of ocean exploration and for a declaration of principles on the peaceful uses of the ocean floor. He also referred to a Soviet suggestion that the General Assembly

favor in principle the prohibition of the military use of the seabed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

The Committee met again in New York June 17-July 9. This session was largely devoted to meetings of the two working groups.

The Economic and Technical Working Group discussed the extent of the mineral resources of the ocean floor and their geographical distribution; the present stage and foreseeable development of technology in the field of exploration, evaluation, and exploitation of the mineral resources of the ocean floor; the possibility of exploiting the mineral resources from the standpoint of technological progress and the profitability and soundness of investments; possible economic implications for world markets and prices of the exploitation of marine mineral resources; possible repercussions of the exploitation of marine mineral resources on other uses of the sea; the possibility of exploiting marine mineral resources for the benefit of mankind as a whole; and the prospects for international cooperation in the development and exploitation of the resources of the ocean floor. The U.S. delegation provided the working group with the latest engineering and technical information available on various aspects of the subjects under discussion.

The Legal Working Group discussed in particular legal problems connected with the use of the resources of the seabed in the interests of mankind, the legal status of the seabed, freedom of scientific research and exploration of the seabed, and the question of reasonable regard for the interests of states in their exercise of the freedom of the high seas. It also discussed other questions, including the definition of the seabed beyond present national jurisdiction, the possibility of a moratorium or freeze of national claims over the seabed, and a statement of principles,

in the form of a declaration, to be adopted by the General Assembly.

On June 28 the United States tabled a draft resolution containing seven principles concerning the deep ocean floor which it urged states to adopt:

1. No state may claim or exercise sovereignty or sovereign rights over any part of the deep ocean floor. There shall be no discrimination in the availability of the deep ocean floor for exploration and use by all states and their nationals in accordance with international law.

2. There shall be established, as soon as practicable, internationally agreed arrangements governing the exploitation of resources of the deep ocean floor. These arrangements shall reflect the other principles contained in this Statement of Principles Concerning the Deep Ocean Floor and shall include provision for:

(a) the orderly development of resources of the deep ocean floor in a manner reflecting the interest of the international community in the development of these resources;

(b) conditions conducive to the making of investments necessary for the exploration and exploitation of resources of the deep ocean floor;

(c) dedication as feasible and practicable of a portion of the value of the resources recovered from the deep ocean floor to international community purposes; and

(d) accommodation among the commercial and other uses of the deep ocean floor and marine environment.

3. Taking into account the Geneva Convention of 1958 on the Continental Shelf, there shall be established, as soon as practicable, an internationally agreed precise boundary for the deep ocean floor—the seabed and subsoil beyond that over which coastal states may exercise sovereign rights for the purpose of exploration and exploitation of its natural resources.

Exploitation of the natural resources of the ocean floor that occurs prior to establishment of the boundary shall be understood not to prejudice its location, regardless of whether the coastal state considers the exploitation to have occurred on its “continental shelf.”

4. States and their nationals shall conduct their activities on the deep ocean floor in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, and in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international

cooperation, scientific knowledge, and economic development.

5. In order to further international cooperation in the scientific investigation of the deep ocean floor, states shall:

(a) disseminate, in a timely fashion, plans for and results of national scientific programs concerning the deep ocean floor;

(b) encourage their nationals to follow similar practices concerning dissemination of such information;

(c) encourage cooperative scientific activities regarding the deep ocean floor by personnel of different states.

6. In the exploration and use of the deep ocean floor states and their nationals:

(a) shall have reasonable regard for the interests of other states and their nationals;

(b) shall avoid unjustifiable interference with the exercise of the freedoms of the high seas by other states and their nationals, or with the conservation of the living resources of the seas, and any interference with fundamental scientific research carried out with the intention of open publication;

(c) shall adopt appropriate safeguards so as to minimize pollution of the seas and disturbance of the existing biological, chemical and physical processes and balances.

Each state shall provide timely announcement and any necessary amplifying information of any marine activity or experiment planned by it or its nationals that could harmfully interfere with the activities of any other state or its nationals in the exploration and use of the deep ocean floor. A state which has reason to believe that a marine activity or experiment planned by another state or its nationals could harmfully interfere with its activities or those of its nationals in the exploration and use of the deep ocean floor may request consultation concerning the activity or experiment.

7. States and their nationals shall render all possible assistance to one another in the event of accident, distress or emergency arising out of activities of the deep ocean floor.

The United States tabled another draft resolution the same day that requested the the ENDC to take up the question of arms limitation on the seabed and ocean floor with a view to “defining those factors vital to a workable, verifiable, and effective international agreement which would prevent the use of this new

environment for the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction."

In a statement on June 20 the U.S. Representative, David H. Popper, elaborated on the U.S. proposal for an international decade in the 1970's. He also suggested:

... that the international community take action soon looking toward the preservation of certain virgin marine areas for general scientific purposes and for the preservation of existing international marine life.

In such marine areas no activities would be permitted which would impair their value for scientific exploration, research, or study. Preservation in an unmodified state of characteristic marine features, such as a deep ocean trench, a group of seamounts, and uninhabited coral atolls, would provide ecological baselines to serve as a basis for comparison in future investigations of the oceans.

The third and last session of the *Ad Hoc* Committee met in Rio de Janeiro August 19-30. At this session the United States tabled a draft resolution looking toward General Assembly endorsement of an international decade of ocean exploration. Although most members of the Committee commented favorably on the concept of the decade, as well as on a study of pollution proposed by Iceland, the Committee decided only to submit a factual report to the General Assembly annexing all draft resolutions and the reports of the working groups without making recommendations to the General Assembly.

The Committee did, however, try to draft an agreed declaration of principles. There was considerable discussion of the question of reservation of the seabed and deep ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes with a number of states advocating complete demilitarization of the seabeds. On this issue, the U.S. Representative stated on August 23:

... the United States supports the adoption of a General Assembly resolution declaring that the seabed and deep ocean floor should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The United States

has previously supported, in the Space Treaty of 1967, the use exclusively for peaceful purposes of the moon and other celestial bodies. As we said then, we understand that the test of whether an activity is "peaceful" is whether it is consistent with the United Nations Charter and other obligations of international law.

We believe it is important to prevent the spread of the arms race to new environments. It is appropriate that the General Assembly should go on record in support of a resolution declaring that the deep ocean floor should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. However, considering that the term "peaceful purposes" does not preclude military activities generally, specific limitations on certain military activities will require the negotiation of a detailed arms control agreement. Military activities not precluded by such agreements would continue to be conducted in accordance with the principle of freedom of the seas and exclusively for peaceful purposes.

Although the Committee could not agree on a single declaration of principles, substantial progress was made and many Committee members indicated their approval of one or the other of two sets of principles included in the Committee's report. The main differences were that one set, proposed by 15 Latin American, Asian, and African states, did not refer to the need for a boundary line to demarcate the area of the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, while the other, supported by the United States, emphasized such a need. The 15-power version also placed more emphasis on the special interests of developing countries and coastal states.

The draft statement of agreed principles supported by the United States comprised the following:

- (1) There is an area of the seabed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas, which lies beyond the limits of national jurisdiction (hereinafter described as "this area");
- (2) Taking into account relevant dispositions of international law, there should be agreed a precise boundary for this area;
- (3) There should be agreed, as soon as practicable, an international regime

governing the exploitation of resources of this area;

(4) No state may claim or exercise sovereign rights over any part of this area, and no part of it is subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by use or occupation, or by any other means;

(5) Exploration and use of this area shall be carried on for the benefit and in the interests of all mankind, taking into account the special needs of the developing countries;

(6) This area shall be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes;

(7) Activities in this area shall be conducted in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations. Activities in this area shall not infringe upon the freedoms of the high seas.

In addition to discussing the decade, marine pollution, the reservation of the seabed for peaceful purposes, and a declaration of principles, the *Ad Hoc* Committee considered the need for continuing its work through the establishment of a permanent seabed committee, as proposed by the Belgian Representative in a draft resolution.

General Assembly Consideration

The First Committee of the 23d General Assembly discussed the seabed item during a total of 22 meetings from October 28 to November 11 and from December 18 to 20. Some 19 draft resolutions and amendments (and many subsequent revisions) were submitted relating to (1) the establishment of a standing committee and its terms of reference, (2) a study on limiting marine pollution, (3) a study on the possible need for international machinery to exploit the seabed, (4) the proposed international decade of ocean exploration, (5) legal principles, and (6) reservation of the seabed and deep ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes. Four resolutions were adopted.

In a statement to the First Committee on October 29, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Wiggins, reviewed the U.S.-proposed principles (see above, p. 21). With respect to the second principle, he explained that:

Agreement on these balanced guidelines would facilitate negotiations looking toward an internationally agreed regime for the exploitation and use of the deep ocean floor. Meanwhile, exploration and exploitation activities should and will continue. We also believe that regime, when established, should provide due protection for the integrity of investments made in exploitation of the seabed and the deep ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction prior to the establishment of its boundary.

Ambassador Wiggins urged support for the U.S.-proposed international decade of ocean exploration, beginning in 1970, and repeated the proposal made in New York to the effect, *inter alia*, that the ENDC examine the question whether a viable international agreement might be achieved in which each party would agree not to emplace or fix weapons of mass destruction on the seabed.

SEABED COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

On October 23 Belgium introduced a 29-state draft resolution creating a permanent Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. This draft was subject to a number of revisions, the final version being cosponsored by 66 countries, including the United States. One of the principal issues relating to the establishment of the committee was that of size and membership. As the importance of the seabed had become more evident over the past year, in large part because of the activity of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, more and more U.N. members wished to participate in the permanent committee. The developing countries especially wished to enlarge the membership of the committee. The United States

made clear its fear that too large a committee would mean reduced efficiency. Following protracted discussions, it was agreed that the new committee should be limited to 42 with the following states as members:

Argentina	Malagasy Republic
Australia	Malaysia
Austria	Malta
Belgium	Mauritania
Brazil	Mexico
Bulgaria	Nigeria
Cameroon	Norway
Canada	Pakistan
Ceylon	Peru
Chile	Poland
Czechoslovakia	Romania
El Salvador	Sierra Leone
France	Sudan
Iceland	Tanzania
India	Thailand
Italy	Trinidad and Tobago
Japan	U.S.S.R.
Kenya	U.A.R.
Kuwait	United Kingdom
Liberia	United States
Libya	Yugoslavia

This membership was worked out with the understanding that the committee's composition should be subject to rotation. In this connection Ambassador Vinci of Italy, Chairman of the First Committee, said:

In principle one-third of the membership of each regional group will rotate every two years. There is however no formal provision in the draft resolution in this respect since, rather than organizing elections by the General Assembly, it is felt that informal arrangements should be worked out by the regional groups with regard to a rotating system which would be implemented on the basis of mutual agreement amongst States or groups of States, and announced by the Chairman of the First Committee every two years. The periodical rotation within each regional group will be applied without any discrimination against any Member State. Successive terms by the same State are not excluded.

With this statement as part of the record, the First Committee on December 20 adopted the draft resolution creating a permanent committee on the seabed by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions.

The resolution was adopted in plenary on December 21 by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.

The resolution instructed the new seabed committee, *inter alia*:

(a) To study the elaboration of the legal principles and norms which would promote international cooperation in the exploration and use of the seabed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and to ensure the exploitation of their resources for the benefit of mankind, and the economic and other requirements which such a regime should satisfy in order to meet the interests of humanity as a whole;

(b) To study the ways and means of promoting the exploitation and use of the resources of this area, and of international cooperation to that end, taking into account the foreseeable development of technology and the economic implications of such exploitation and bearing in mind the fact that such exploitation should benefit mankind as a whole;

(c) To review the studies carried out in the field of exploration and research in this area and aimed at intensifying international cooperation and stimulating the exchange and the widest possible dissemination of scientific knowledge on the subject;

(d) To examine proposed measures of cooperation to be adopted by the international community in order to prevent the marine pollution which may result from the exploration and exploitation of the resources of this area.

The resolution also called on the new seabed committee

. . . to study further, . . . taking into account the studies and international negotiations being undertaken in the field of disarmament, the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the seabed and the ocean floor without prejudice to the limits which may be agreed upon in this respect.

The Soviet Union would not accept for this paragraph the language used in the rest of the resolution, "beyond the limits of national jurisdiction," and at first argued strongly for "beyond territorial waters." This language was unacceptable to many countries, especially the Latin American countries which claim jurisdiction extending out 200 miles. The

compromise language was recommended by the U.S.S.R. and avoided an absolute split, but notwithstanding its acceptance, the Soviet Union abstained in the vote on the resolution creating the new seabed committee.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

The Assembly adopted three additional resolutions concerning the seabed. The first, introduced by the United States on November 1 and ultimately cosponsored by 28 states, welcomed the proposal for an International Decade of Ocean Exploration beginning in 1970. This resolution, after some modification, was adopted by the First Committee on December 20 by a vote of 100 to 0, with 2 abstentions, and by the General Assembly on December 21 without objection. (For further details see p. 117.)

The second resolution, introduced by Iceland on November 4 and ultimately cosponsored by 41 states including the United States, welcomed the adoption by states of appropriate safeguards against the dangers of marine pollution and requested the Secretary-General, in cooperation with other bodies working in this field, to prepare a report for submission to the Assembly and the seabed committee, clarifying all aspects of protection of the living and other resources of the seabed and superjacent waters against the

consequences of pollution. A Spanish amendment enlarging the scope of the study to include adjacent coasts was adopted on December 19 in the First Committee by a vote of 59 to 1, with 26 abstentions (U.S.). The amended resolution was then adopted on the same day by a vote of 101 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, in the First Committee, and unanimously in the plenary on December 21.

The third resolution, finally cosponsored by 39 developing countries, was introduced on November 11. It asked the Secretary-General to undertake a study on establishing in due time appropriate international machinery for exploiting the seabed, and to submit this study to the seabed committee in time for the latter to report on it to the 24th General Assembly. The resolution was adopted by the First Committee on December 19 by a vote of 77 to 9, with 18 abstentions (U.S.), and by the plenary on December 21 by a vote of 85 to 9, with 25 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because it believed the proposed study properly fell within the competence of the seabed committee and should be undertaken when and under the conditions determined to be appropriate by that committee. It believed, further, that the reporting requirement was inappropriate since the committee should be the judge of determining priorities for its actions.

Peaceful Settlement

Cyprus

The Security Council met in March, June, and December to consider reports by the Secretary-General on the U.N. operation in Cyprus and to renew the mandate of UNFICYP, the peacekeeping force established by the Council in 1964 to act as a buffer between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. In marked contrast with 1967, which almost saw the outbreak of full-scale war between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus, 1968 was relatively calm with few incidents on the island. There was considerable progress in the effort to find a settlement.

RENEWAL OF UNFICYP MANDATE: MARCH

In his March 9 report to the Council, the Secretary-General described the 3-month period covered by the report as one of the quietest since the disturbances of December 1963. He attributed the improved situation both to the "sobering realization" by the parties of how close the island had come to catastrophe in 1967, and to new measures by the Greek Cypriots, particularly those announced by President Makarios on March 7, to normalize conditions on the island by lifting restrictions on the movements of Turkish Cypriots. The Secretary-General expressed regret that the offer he had made to the parties on December 3, 1967, to use his good offices to bring about a settlement had not borne fruit, but indicated his intention to persevere. He had begun consultations with the U.N. Representatives of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey on January 2 and

reported he would continue these efforts.

The Secretary-General enumerated additional steps he believed should be taken in the search for a solution:

(1) the Turkish Cypriots should reciprocate the normalization measures adopted by the Makarios government;

(2) both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots should accept UNFICYP's proposals for military deconfrontation; and

(3) his Special Representative in Nicosia, Bibiano Osorio-Tafall, would seek to arrange talks between Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders "at the earliest possible date."

He recommended that UNFICYP's mandate be extended for 3 more months.

After brief discussion on March 18, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution presented by its President that (1) reaffirmed earlier Council resolutions; (2) urged the parties to "act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined cooperative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities," and (3) extended UNFICYP until June 26.

In a statement after the vote Ambassador William B. Buffum said that the United States had taken special note of the Secretary-General's support for the concept of talks between representatives of the two Cypriot communities. The United States also supported this concept "or any other means which will permit the interested parties to find a mutually agreeable procedure for reaching a settlement."

Ambassador Buffum also took note of UNFICYP's continuing financial deficit and expressed the hope that Council members who were giving political support to UNFICYP would match that support "in practical financial terms as well."

RENEWAL OF UNFICYP MANDATE: JUNE

In his report of June 11 the Secretary-General informed the Council that the efforts of his Special Representative to arrange intercommunal talks had been successful, and that Mr. Osorio-Tafall would formally open the talks in Nicosia on June 24. The Secretary-General recommended that UNFICYP's mandate be extended for 6 months to help in maintaining peace, "an essential condition for the success of the intercommunal talks."

After a brief discussion on June 18 the Council unanimously adopted a resolution presented by Ambassador Goldberg in his capacity as Council President. The resolution was virtually identical to the March resolution, except that it extended UNFICYP's mandate for 6 rather than 3 months, until December 15.

RENEWAL OF UNFICYP MANDATE: DECEMBER

The Secretary-General in his December 4 report to the Council said that "the last six months have been good for peace in Cyprus." There had been no bloodshed and "not one serious intercommunal incident has occurred to mar the atmosphere of calm and expectancy surrounding the important talks taking place between leading members of the two communities." The Secretary-General also observed that it had been possible to reduce UNFICYP by about 25% by "modifying some of its dispositions and shifting some tasks from military

units to civilian police." He added that the reduction had not "affected the efficiency of the Force in carrying out its mandate." The Secretary-General concluded that the presence of UNFICYP on the island "constitutes an assurance to both communities that no unforeseen accident will be allowed to initiate a chain of events that might bring back the tragic conditions of the past" and disrupt the negotiations. He strongly recommended that the Council extend UNFICYP for a further period of 6 months.

On December 10 the President of the Security Council introduced a draft virtually identical to the previous resolution. After a brief debate the Council unanimously adopted the resolution which extended UNFICYP's mandate until June 15, 1969.

Czechoslovakia

Late at night on August 20 and into the early morning hours the next day half a million men of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany invaded Czechoslovakia and set about imposing a military occupation on that country. This act of aggression was brought immediately to the attention of the Security Council, and later was a constant and recurring theme at the 23d General Assembly. By the end of 1968 the size of the occupation force had been greatly reduced, with only Soviet units remaining on Czechoslovak territory. The ultimate effect of the occupation, however, could not be predicted, and the Czechoslovak question remained on the agenda of the Security Council.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

The Security Council met in emergency session August 21 at the

request of the Representatives of the United States, Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, and the United Kingdom, and over the strong objections of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Jakob Malik, denied that an invasion had taken place, claiming instead that Czechoslovakia's Warsaw Pact allies had been "invited" by the Czechoslovak Government to come to its assistance "in view of the threats created by the external and internal reaction to the socialist system. . . ."

After a lengthy procedural debate in which the Soviet Representative sought to prevent or delay adoption of the agenda, the Council voted 13 (Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, U.K., U.S.) to 2 (U.S.S.R., Hungary) to approve the agenda. The debate that followed was heated, with U.S. Ambassador George Ball taking the lead in charging the Soviet Union with "wanton aggression," and Ambassador Malik replying in terms reminiscent of the height of the cold war. The Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia, Jan Muzik, refuted the Soviet contention that Warsaw Pact forces had entered Czechoslovakia at its invitation by reading a number of official statements by his government's embattled leaders calling on the Soviet Union and its allies immediately to withdraw their forces from Czech soil.

The Council met twice on August 22 and into the early morning of August 23, on the afternoon of August 23, and again on the morning of August 24 to hear further reports on events within Czechoslovakia, to vote on an eight-power draft resolution, to consider a second draft resolution, and to hear a statement by the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Jiri Hajek, who came to New York especially for the purpose of addressing the Council.

Eight-Power Draft Vetoed

In the morning of August 22 the Danish Representative introduced a draft resolution on behalf of seven powers (Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, U.K., U.S.) which condemned "the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other members of the Warsaw Pact in the internal affairs" of Czechoslovakia and called upon them "to take no action of violence or reprisal that could result in further suffering or loss of life, forthwith to withdraw their forces, and to cease all other forms of intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs." Senegal later became the eighth cosponsor.

The Algerian Representative took the lead in seeking to have the Council adjourn without voting or fixing a time for its next meeting, arguing that delegations should have time to consult with one another and to obtain instructions on the draft resolution. The Soviet and Hungarian Representatives supported this view. Another lengthy and heated procedural debate ensued, with the Canadian and other Western delegations suggesting that Soviet tactics were designed to delay action by the Council until the occupation authorities succeeded in installing a puppet government in Prague. By a vote of 10 in favor (Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Paraguay, Senegal, U.K., U.S.), none opposed, and 5 abstaining (Algeria, Hungary, India, Pakistan, U.S.S.R.), the Council finally decided to adjourn until evening.

The second meeting on August 22 extended into the early morning of August 23. Most of the time was taken by Soviet Representative Malik, whose defense of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia consisted mostly of a denunciation of "Western imperialism," including actions in Viet-Nam and policies toward the Arab world, Africa, and Latin

America. Soviet delaying tactics lasted over 4 hours and were supported by Hungary, as well as two nonmembers of the Council—Bulgaria and Poland—which had asked to participate in the debate. As Ambassador Ball noted at one point:

What we are witnessing is a shameless and shoddy and desperate effort on the part of the Representative of the Soviet Union, of the Representative of Hungary, of the Representative of Bulgaria, to delay and frustrate the proceedings of this Council at a very critical moment in its history.

At the beginning of the evening session on August 22 the Czech Representative had reported that certain Czechoslovak Government and Party leaders had been interned while the “destinies” of others were unknown; that there were indications that “allegedly” a “collaborationist” government was being formed; and that the Foreign Minister, Dr. Jiri Hajek, was then en route to New York to present his country’s position. That position, he said, was that the “occupation” of Czechoslovakia and the “acts of the foreign occupation forces” were “completely illegal,” and that there should be a “complete and immediate termination of the occupation, the withdrawal of all occupation forces . . . and the full restitution of the sovereignty and territorial integrity” of Czechoslovakia.

When the Council was finally able to vote on the eight-power draft resolution, it was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The vote was 10 in favor (Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Paraguay, Senegal, U.K., U.S.), 2 opposed (Hungary, U.S.S.R.), with 3 abstentions (Algeria, India, Pakistan).

Second Draft Resolution

Following this vote the Canadian Representative, referring to the Czechoslovak Representative’s statement regarding the arrest of Czechoslovak leaders, proposed a second

draft resolution on behalf of the same eight cosponsors. It would have had the Council request the Secretary-General “to appoint and despatch immediately to Prague a Special Representative who shall seek the release and ensure the personal safety of the Czechoslovak leaders under detention and who shall report back urgently.”

The Council met again on the evening of August 23 to debate the second draft resolution. The Soviet Representative again sought to delay adoption of the agenda and directed his later interventions against Ambassador Ball personally.

In addition to Bulgaria and Poland, Yugoslavia had asked to be represented at this meeting. (The Czechoslovak Representative was absent.) The Yugoslav Representative read a statement issued by his government in Belgrade on August 22 condemning the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and expressing the “expectation” that the five invading Warsaw Pact members would “undertake urgent measures so as to end, without delay, the occupation . . .” He then went on to say that the Soviet action threatened peace and stability in Europe and elsewhere, and that “no principle of socialism whatsoever can be used as a screen and justification for a gross violation of the sovereignty of a State and occupation of its territory.”

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Speaks

The Council next convened on the morning of August 24 in a session lasting 5 hours. Most of the time was consumed by a procedural wrangle over a Soviet effort to have the Council invite an observer from East Germany to participate in the proceedings. The matter finally was brought to a vote and defeated by 2 in favor (Hungary, U.S.S.R.) to 9 opposed (Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Paraguay, Senegal, U.K., U.S.), with 4 abstentions (Algeria, Brazil,

India, Pakistan). The tone of the debate continued to be extremely acrimonious, with Ambassador Malik accusing his adversaries of being among other things "Anglo-Saxon filibusterers."

After the Soviet proposal had been defeated, Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister addressed the Council. He said the occupation of Czechoslovakia constituted a "tragic event and a tragic situation" in his country. He blamed this on the countries which had invaded Czechoslovakia, said that this act of force had no justification, and categorically denied that any Czechoslovak official had requested Soviet intervention. In a statement of fidelity to "socialism," Dr. Hajek said that "if there is anything that seriously endangers the cause of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, if there is anything that is creating a danger that may compromise it in the world, it is precisely the insensitive and illegal proceedings of those Governments that have carried out the occupation of the territory of socialist Czechoslovakia" He demanded that the foreign troops leave Czechoslovakia "without delay" and said that his government considered "all acts of occupation organs as illegal." Dr. Hajek also expressed the hope that the negotiations then underway between Czechoslovak and Soviet officials in Moscow would contribute to finding a way out of the situation caused by the "enormous and tragic" mistake which the five Warsaw Pact members had made.

Council Remains Seized of Question

No further meetings of the Security Council were held in 1968 on the Czechoslovak question. On August 27 it was reported from Moscow that the August 23-26 negotiations between Czechoslovak and Soviet leaders in Moscow had ended in agreement on "immediate measures" for the "speediest normalization"

of the Czechoslovak internal situation. The exact terms of the agreement have never been made public, but it subsequently became clear that the Soviet Union, and not Czechoslovakia, would seek to define what would constitute "normalization." The Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia on August 27 addressed a letter to the President of the Council asking that he "arrange for the withdrawal of this [the Czechoslovak] item from the agenda," because of the agreement just concluded in Moscow. No action was taken on this request.

In November non-Soviet foreign troops were withdrawn, and the size of the Soviet occupation force was greatly reduced. At the end of 1968, however, Czechoslovakia was still an occupied country. The Council remained officially seized of the Czechoslovak question.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

Although the Czechoslovak question was not on the agenda of the 23d General Assembly, it was a recurring theme throughout the session. Of those members who participated in the opening general debate, 76 condemned the Soviet action, 9 (including Mongolia and Mali) defended it, and 24 avoided mentioning it.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk devoted a major part of his October 2 speech in the General Assembly to the Czechoslovak question, denouncing in the strongest terms the newly formulated Soviet doctrine that questions which may arise in the conduct of relations between members of the "socialist commonwealth" under the leadership of the Soviet Union take precedence over the principles of sovereignty and national self-determination, international law, and the Charter of the United Nations. After citing the facts leading to the Soviet attack on Czechoslovakia, Secretary Rusk ob-

served that they could not be changed "by 'antifacts' manufactured in Moscow." He termed the Soviet actions "repugnant" and "dangerous to peace," and said they had "aroused the conscience of mankind." As evidence of this he noted:

A large majority in the Security Council of the United Nations, the governments of the great majority of the nations of the world, artists and intellectuals with a long record of friendship for the Soviet Union, even the leaders of some of the world's largest Communist parties—all have condemned the invasion and called on the invading powers promptly to withdraw.

A number of countries, including the United States, also referred to the Czechoslovak question in connection with other matters discussed in the committees of the General Assembly, such as items on freedom of information, human rights, peace-keeping, friendly relations among states, and definition of aggression.

Haiti

The Security Council convened on May 27 at the request of Haiti to consider that country's complaint that it had been the victim of armed aggression on May 20, and that "in all probability, the territories most likely to have been used for these criminal ends [were] those of the United States, Cuba, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, or the Bahamas."

The Haitian Representative in a lengthy statement cited as "fact" the allegation that an American aircraft had been used to bomb Haiti and that two aircraft transported "mercenaries" and, although he said Haiti was not accusing anyone or any government, he suggested that the United States was allowing Haitian exile elements hostile to President Duvalier to carry out anti-Duvalier activities in the United States contrary to American law.

In a brief statement Ambassador Goldberg indicated that the U.S. request to the Haitian Government for information necessary to investigate the matter and to assist in ascertaining the facts remained unhonored. He affirmed, however, that the U.S. desire to be of assistance remained undiminished and its offer to help investigate the facts remained outstanding.

The Brazilian Representative noted that the source of the alleged aggression had not been established and said that the vague and fragmentary information available did not provide a sound basis for the Council to proceed. He suggested that the Security Council should "refrain from taking any action" until one or more of the methods of pacific settlement mentioned in the U.N. Charter, particularly resort to the appropriate regional agency, the Organization of American States, had been tried.

In adjourning the meeting the President said he would consult with Council members and announce the time of a further meeting "in due course." No further meeting on Haiti was held in 1968.

Korea

The Korean question came before the Security Council for the first time since 1950 as a result of North Korea's illegal seizure of a U.S. naval vessel, the *Pueblo*, on the high seas and its increasingly serious violations of the 1953 Military Armistice Agreement. These events also affected the annual debate on Korea in the General Assembly, because North Korea continued to hold the seized ship and crew and continued its Armistice violations. The latter included the infiltration of groups of armed guerrillas. During November one of these groups, composed of 120 heavily armed agents, landed on the east coast of the Republic of

Korea midway down the peninsula in the largest single intrusion into the South since the end of the Korean conflict.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

On the night of January 21-22, 1968, 31 armed infiltrators attacked the presidential palace in Seoul in an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the palace and assassinate the President of the Republic of Korea, Pak Chung-hui. The following day, January 23, gunboats of the North Korean Navy forcibly seized the U.S. naval ship *Pueblo* in international waters adjacent to North Korea.

The United States on January 25 requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider "the grave threat to peace which has been brought about by a series of increasingly dangerous and aggressive military actions by North Korean authorities in violation of the Armistice Agreement and of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations." The request specifically cited:

(1) the armed terrorists whose apparent goal was the assassination of Korean President Pak, and

(2) the illegal seizure of the *Pueblo* while in international waters.

When the Security Council met on January 26, the U.S. request was inscribed on the agenda by a vote of 12 to 3 (Algeria, Hungary, U.S.S.R.) after a short procedural debate in which the Soviet Union and Hungary spoke against inscription and the United Kingdom and Canada spoke in favor—the latter suggesting, as one possibility, that the Council might arrange for an intermediary or intermediaries to exercise good offices.

During 2 days of formal meetings on January 26 and 27, statements were made by representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, Canada, Hun-

gary, and Ethiopia. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, described in detail the North Korean seizure of the *Pueblo* and presented evidence, including monitored radio messages between North Korean ships surrounding the *Pueblo*, which demonstrated that the vessel was well outside territorial waters, whether the 3- or 12-mile limit was claimed. He also referred to the recent assassination attempt on President Pak and appealed to the Council both to secure the safe return of the *Pueblo* and her crew and to restore the effectiveness of the Korean Armistice Agreement.

Also on January 26 the U.S. Representative submitted to the President of the Security Council a formal report of the Unified Command in Korea. The report described in detail the nature and extent of the recent North Korean violations of the Armistice Agreement, and it concluded that the incidents "are of such magnitude as to create a grave threat to the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Soviet Representative delivered a long speech much of which impugned the U.S. statements. The Soviet statement charged that the U.S. "occupation" troops in South Korea constituted aggression and threatened international peace and security in the area. Both the Soviet and Hungarian statements ignored the evidence, insisted that the *Pueblo* had violated North Korean territorial waters, and attempted to draw analogies with U.S. actions in Vietnam and elsewhere.

The U.K. Representative noted that the *Pueblo* was peacefully carrying out a legitimate purpose and urged that the Council move forward to reduce tensions, free the ship and its crew, and insure the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement. Ethiopia called on both parties to exercise restraint and make gestures of goodwill in order to reduce tension, and

proposed that the Council investigate the incidents under discussion. After the two days of formal meetings, the Council adjourned to permit private consultations aimed at reaching informal agreement on further practical steps.

In the Security Council and in behind-the-scenes consultations, the United States continued to seek respect for the Armistice Agreement and release of the *Pueblo* and its crew. The U.S. Representative pointed out repeatedly that North Korea had no right in any circumstances to seize the ship. Even had it been in territorial waters, which it clearly was not, the proper procedure would have been to escort the vessel out. The private consultations centered on the idea of a special intermediary to try to negotiate the release of the ship and crew. While these consultations were in progress, North Korea's *Radio Pyongyang* broadcast an account of an address given January 31 by Kim Kwang-hyop, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party, in which, discussing the *Pueblo* case, he said that the United States had illegally brought the *Pueblo* case to the United Nations, although there was a precedent for the treatment of similar cases at the Korean Military Armistice Commission.

On the following day a spokesman for the Department of State said:

We have noted the press report of a statement in Pyongyang by a high official of the North Korean Communist Party that North Korea will not use the United Nations to deal with the *Pueblo* problem, but is prepared to use the machinery of the Military Armistice Commission in Panmunjom. The United States is prepared to deal with this matter through this channel.

On February 1 Ambassador Goldberg informed the President of the Security Council that the United States was responding positively to the above-mentioned statement by the North Koreans concerning the use of the Military Armistice Com-

mission to deal with the *Pueblo* problem. It was therefore agreed that the Security Council proceedings should be suspended to await possible developments at Panmunjom.

Negotiations between the U.S. and North Korean Senior Members of the Military Armistice Commission began at Panmunjom in a private meeting on February 2, 1968. After a total of 30 meetings, 29 private and 1 public, an agreement was reached which led to the release of the crew of the *Pueblo* on December 23, 1968.

Under the terms of the agreement, the U.S. Senior Member of the Military Armistice Commission, Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward, signed a document prepared by the North Koreans which stated that the United States acknowledged the validity of the North Korean charges. Before signing General Woodward made a formal statement for the record. The text of this statement had earlier been transmitted to the North Koreans who had accepted the U.S. requirement that it be coupled with the signature of their document. The U.S. statement read:

The position of the United States Government with regard to the *Pueblo*, as consistently expressed in the negotiations at Panmunjom and in public, has been that the ship was not engaged in illegal activity, that there is no convincing evidence that the ship at any time intruded into the territorial waters claimed by North Korea, and that we could not apologize for actions which we did not believe took place. The document which I am going to sign was prepared by the North Koreans and is at variance with the above position, but my signature will not and cannot alter the facts. I will sign the document to free the crew and only to free the crew.

Since the vessel itself remained in North Korean hands, and other violations of the Armistice Agreement by North Korea had not yet been fully considered, the year ended with the U.S. complaint subject to possible further consideration by

the Security Council, which remained seized of the question.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

When the 24th General Assembly convened in September 1968, the provisional agenda included, as it had in previous years, an item entitled "The Korean Question: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" (UNCURK).¹ This annual report, covering the period since August 27, 1967, was submitted on August 24, 1968.

The provisional agenda, considered by the Assembly's General Committee on September 25, also included two other items related to Korea:

(1) an item entitled "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," which had been submitted on August 22 by Cambodia, Hungary, Mali, and Syria (later joined by Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Congo (Brazzaville), Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R.); and

(2) an item entitled "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations," which had been submitted on August 23 by substantially the same group of states (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R.—later joined by Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), and Romania).

A Soviet proposal that the General Committee recommend that the UNCURK Report item not be inscribed on the agenda was defeated

by a vote of 3 in favor, 17 opposed (U.S.), with 4 abstentions. The Committee then adopted by a vote of 16 to 3, with 5 abstentions, a U.S. proposal that the Committee recommend to the General Assembly that the three items related to Korea be combined under a single heading, "The Korean Question," with the UNCURK Report as the first sub-item.

On September 27 the General Assembly adopted a 95-item agenda and approved the General Committee's recommendation on the handling of the Korean item. This action followed the defeat by a vote of 19 to 63 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions, of a Soviet proposal once again to delete the item on the UNCURK Report. In statements supporting the proposal, representatives of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Mongolia described UNCURK as "a weapon of foreign intervention," said that the unification of Korea was an internal Korean matter and that U.N. actions on it were illegal, and demanded that simultaneous and unconditional invitations to participate in the debate on the Korean question be issued to representatives of both the Republic of Korea and the North Korean regime.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Buffum, responded that the United States did not oppose an invitation to the North Koreans, but was interested in the circumstances under which North Korea would be invited since it persistently maintained the "intolerable and dangerous" position that the United Nations had no right to concern itself with the problems of the Korean Peninsula. He said the question of invitations should properly be discussed and decided in the First Committee.

Noting the charges of U.S. "intervention" and "military occupation" in Korea, Ambassador Buffum stressed that U.S. and other U.N. forces were in Korea at the invitation of the Republic of Korea to protect it

¹ UNCURK, consisting of representatives of Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey, was established Oct. 7, 1950, to represent the United Nations in bringing about a unified, independent, and democratic Korea.

against the aggressive North Korean regime and stated that "our interest and aim is to insure the continued concern with and presence in Korea of this organization." He expressed amazement "at the temerity of those same Warsaw Pact members which brutally and illegally invaded Czechoslovakia such a short time ago using words here such as 'intervention' and 'military occupation,'" and said, "We must make it clear that we do not and will not accept the right of any power to declare certain portions of the world off limits to this organization simply because one power does not wish to have the United Nations 'sticking its nose' in problems, disputes, tensions, and conflicts for which that power itself is to blame."

Invitation Question

The invitation issue was raised at the initial meeting of the First Committee on October 18. Ten supporters of North Korea (Bulgaria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, and Syria), later joined by Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Southern Yemen, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R., had on October 7 submitted a draft resolution under the heading "Organization of Work," that would have the First Committee decide "to invite simultaneously and without condition a representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and a representative of the Republic of Korea, . . . to take part . . . in the discussion of questions relating to Korea."

The United States and other opponents of this approach countered that the question of invitations should be taken up under the agenda item "The Korean Question" and not as part of the organization of work of the Committee, and suggested that the Committee should proceed to decide the order of its agenda.

A draft resolution, cosponsored by

Australia, Bolivia, Central African Republic, Colombia, Costa Rica, Japan, Malagasy Republic, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Togo, and the United States, was submitted October 18 under the heading "The Korean Question." This resolution, essentially identical to that adopted the previous year, would invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate in the debates and would reaffirm the Committee's willingness to invite a representative of North Korea provided the latter first unequivocally accepted—as had the Republic of Korea—"the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean Question."

After several days of lengthy debate on the question of the timing of the invitation decision and the order of agenda items, agreement was reached through private consultations—later confirmed without objection by the Committee—that the Committee would proceed with its agenda, taking up first the item on peaceful uses of the seabed (see p. 23), followed by the various disarmament items (see p. 13), and then the Korean question. It was further agreed that the discussion on disarmament would be interrupted on a date to be fixed by the chairman after consultations to take up the invitation aspects of the Korean question.

Debate on the invitation resolutions began on November 25. In addition to the two draft resolutions noted above, a third resolution was introduced by Saudi Arabia, the principal provision of which was an appeal to the United States and the Soviet Union "to use their good offices" to remove the obstacles standing in the way of the unification of Korea.

The U.S. Representative, Senator Stuart Symington, pointed out that the issue underlying the differing invitation resolutions was "whether the United Nations has, or can have,

any responsibility whatever with respect to Korea." He asserted that

... the United Nations must continue to exercise its responsibility in Korea. We believe that the formula used to invite representatives of Korea to join the debate must uphold the authority and the competence of the United Nations to continue to deal with a problem which all recognize is related to the peace and security of Asia.

Quoting the North Korean statement of September 21, 1968, that "the Korean question is by no means a question to be discussed at the United Nations" and citing other evidence that both the North Koreans and the cosponsors of the so-called "unconditional" invitation resolution denied any international responsibility for resolving the problems of Korea, Senator Symington said:

... I submit that an attitude which denies the United Nations the right to exercise its competence and authority over the Korean problem has no basis in law, no basis in the Charter, and—what is at least as important—no basis in common sense. For clearly it would contribute to instability, not peace and security, in Northeast Asia.

I submit further that any action which would grant respectability to this attitude would not only be a great disservice to this Organization, but also would be an encouragement to those who seek to declare certain areas of the world "off limits" to the United Nations.

On November 27 the Committee voted on the 17-power "unconditional" resolution and the resolution cosponsored by the United States and 11 other nations. The 17-power resolution was defeated by a vote of 40 to 55, with 28 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan	Guinea
Albania	Hungary
Algeria	Indonesia
Bulgaria	Iraq
Burma	Jordan
Burundi	Kenya
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Mali
Cambodia	Mauritania
Ceylon	Mongolia
Congo (Brazzaville)	Nepal
Cuba	Nigeria
Czechoslovakia	Pakistan
Ethiopia	Poland

Romania
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Southern Yemen
Sudan
Syria
Tanzania

Uganda
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
U.A.R.
Yemen
Yugoslavia
Zambia

Those opposed were:

Argentina	Japan
Australia	Lesotho
Barbados	Liberia
Belgium	Luxembourg
Bolivia	Malagasy Republic
Botswana	Malawi
Brazil	Malaysia
Canada	Malta
Central African Republic	Mauritius
Chile	Netherlands
China	New Zealand
Colombia	Nicaragua
Costa Rica	Niger
Dahomey	Panama
Dominican Republic	Paraguay
El Salvador	Peru
France	Philippines
The Gambia	Rwanda
Greece	South Africa
Guyana	Spain
Haiti	Swaziland
Honduras	Thailand
Iceland	Togo
Ireland	Trinidad and Tobago
Israel	Turkey
Italy	United Kingdom
Ivory Coast	United States
	Uruguay

Those abstaining were:

Austria	Kuwait
Cameroon	Laos
Chad	Libya
Congo (Kinshasa)	Maldives Islands
Cyprus	Mexico
Denmark	Morocco
Equatorial Guinea	Norway
Finland	Saudi Arabia
Gabon	Senegal
Ghana	Singapore
Guatemala	Sweden
India	Tunisia
Iran	Upper Volta
Jamaica	Venezuela

The U.S.-backed 12-power resolution was then adopted by a vote of 67 to 28, with 28 abstentions.

Those in favor were: all who opposed the 17-power resolution, except Barbados, plus Austria, Congo (Kinshasa), Cyprus, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Iran, Jamaica, Laos, Mexico, Norway, Senegal, and Venezuela.

Those opposed were: all who favored the 17-power resolution except Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, and Somalia.

Those abstaining were: Afghanistan, Barbados, Burma, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Maldive Islands, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sweden, Tunisia, and Upper Volta.

The Saudi Arabian Representative stated that he had submitted his resolution in order to provide a description of the realities of history and the true nature of the Korean question (i.e., a product of the conflict of big-power interests). Since it was too early to expect a solution along the lines of his proposal, he wished simply that it be read into the record and did not press for a vote.

New Item Proposed By Cuba

On December 3, a week before the opening of the substantive debate in the First Committee on the Korean question, the Cuban Representative requested the inscription of an additional item on the General Assembly's agenda entitled: "Need to put an end to the discussion in the United Nations on the unification of Korea." The General Committee considered the Cuban request on December 9 and decided by a vote of 7 to 3, with 11 abstentions (U.S.), to recommend inscription. Before the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Richard Pedersen, described the request as a flagrant abuse of rule 15 of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure which permits inscription during the session only of "additional items of an important and urgent character," which the Cuban item obviously was not. He proposed that, if the Committee

decided nevertheless to recommend inscription, the item be included in the agenda as subitem (d) of the Korean question, that it be allocated to the First Committee, and that it be discussed in the course of the consideration of the other subitems of the Korean question. The U.S. proposal was adopted. The following day the General Assembly approved the General Committee's recommendations.

Substantive Debate

The First Committee debated the substantive aspects of the Korean question December 11-16. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, Kyu Hah Choi, participated in the debates and addressed the Committee on December 11.

Four resolutions were before the Committee for discussion, corresponding to the four subitems of the question.

The draft resolution on subitem (a), cosponsored by 15 countries (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Greece, Japan, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, Togo, U.K., and U.S.),

(1) reaffirmed that the U.N. objectives in Korea "are to bring about, by peaceful means, the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area," to be achieved through "genuinely free elections";

(2) called for cooperation in easing tensions in the area and, in particular, for "the avoidance of incidents and activities in violation of the Armistice Agreement of 1953";

(3) noted with approval the efforts made by UNCURK, "in pursuit of its mandate, to encourage the exercise of restraint and the easing of tensions in the area and to secure maximum support, assistance and

cooperation in the realization of the peaceful reunification of Korea”;

(4) requested UNCURK to continue its efforts and to keep members of the Assembly informed “on the situation in the area and on the results of these efforts through regular reports submitted to the Secretary-General and to the Assembly as appropriate,” with the first report to be submitted no later than 4 months after the adoption of the resolution; and

(5) noted that most U.N. forces had already been withdrawn from Korea, that the objective of those remaining was to preserve the peace and security of the area, and that they would also be withdrawn when requested by the Republic of Korea or when “the conditions for a lasting settlement formulated by the General Assembly have been fulfilled.”

The draft resolution differed from similar UNCURK resolutions adopted in previous years in its call for cooperation in easing of tensions and avoidance of violations of the Armistice Agreement, and in its provision for more frequent UNCURK reports, to be submitted either to the Secretary-General or to the General Assembly. (Previous resolutions provided for an annual report submitted to the General Assembly.)

The draft resolution on subitem (b), also cosponsored by 15 countries (Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R.) called for the dissolution of UNCURK within a minimum period of 2 months from the date of adoption of the resolution on the grounds (1) that the question of unification should be settled by the self-determination of the Korean people themselves, and (2) that UNCURK could make no practical contribution to the solution of the problem and, rather, was creating “obstacles to such solution.”

The draft resolution on subitem (c), cosponsored by the same 15 countries, called for the withdrawal within 6 months of “all American and other foreign military personnel deployed in South Korea under the title of ‘United Nations Forces.’ ”

The draft resolution on subitem (d), cosponsored by 13 of the same 15 countries (all but Algeria and Mauritania),

(1) noted that the United Nations lacked “the moral authority to participate in the solution of the Korean question,”

(2) noted that the “ineffectual discussion of this question affects the prestige of the United Nations,” and

(3) decided that the Korean question “shall no longer be discussed in the United Nations.”

In urging adoption of the resolution reaffirming the mandate of UNCURK, the U.S. Representative declared:

... Korea is one of the world's major testing grounds for the principles upon which the United Nations was founded: collective security, peaceful settlement, and self-determination. What happens to this country is of grave concern to all nations interested in keeping those principles alive; and therefore it is imperative for the United Nations to make clear to all that its presence in Korea will be maintained, also that the responsibilities of the international community toward this area must and will continue.

He affirmed that UNCURK was the main instrument for promoting the major unfulfilled objective of the United Nations in Korea: peaceful unification through free elections.

The U.S. Representative described events of the previous 2 years which demonstrated that North Korea had embarked on a policy of stepped-up violence—“not a mere succession of minor incidents, [but] rather a systematic campaign to export revolution into the South through violence and terrorism.” Against this background, he said, “North Korea still presses its perennial

demands that UNCURK be abolished, that the United Nations Command leave Korea, and that the United Nations itself cease to concern itself with Korea”

He described the military and political situation with respect to the two parts of Korea and concluded:

It is the picture of a risky and unstable situation, one which does not promote the cause of peace. It is the promotion of that cause which convinces my Government that the presence of the United Nations in Korea must be fully maintained.

Referring briefly to the three resolutions cosponsored by the Soviet Union and other supporters of North Korea, Senator Symington observed that “all of them, in one way or another, seek to remove Korea from the concern and protection of the United Nations.” He called for the rejection of these proposals and for the approval instead of “a forward-looking resolution which will bring us, at long last, closer to the fulfillment of the historic goals of this community of nations—a Korea free and united.”

Assembly Action

The four draft resolutions were voted upon on December 16. The UNCURK resolution cosponsored by the United States and 14 other nations was first put to a vote. Following separate votes on two of its operative paragraphs—both of which were overwhelmingly approved—the resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 72 to 23, with 26 abstentions.

Voting in favor were:

Argentina	Chile
Australia	China
Austria	Colombia
Barbados	Congo (Kinshasa)
Belgium	Costa Rica
Bolivia	Cyprus
Botswana	Dahomey
Brazil	Denmark
Canada	Dominican
Central African Republic	Republic
	El Salvador

Ethiopia	Mexico
France	Morocco
Gabon	Netherlands
The Gambia	New Zealand
Greece	Nicaragua
Guatemala	Niger
Guyana	Norway
Haiti	Panama
Honduras	Paraguay
Iceland	Peru
Iran	Philippines
Ireland	Rwanda
Israel	Senegal
Italy	South Africa
Ivory Coast	Spain
Jamaica	Swaziland
Japan	Sweden
Laos	Thailand
Lesotho	Togo
Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
Luxembourg	Turkey
Malagasy Republic	United Kingdom
Malawi	United States
Malaysia	Uruguay
Maldives Islands	Venezuela
Malta	
Mauritius	

Those opposed were:

Albania	Mauritania
Algeria	Mongolia
Bulgaria	Poland
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Romania
Cambodia	Sudan
Congo (Brazzaville)	Syria
Cuba	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	U.S.S.R.
Guinea	U.A.R.
Hungary	Yemen
Iraq	Yugoslavia
Mali	

Those abstaining were:

Afghanistan	Lebanon
Burma	Libya
Burundi	Nepal
Cameroon	Nigeria
Ceylon	Pakistan
Chad	Saudi Arabia
Finland	Sierra Leone
Ghana	Singapore
India	Somalia
Indonesia	Tanzania
Jordan	Tunisia
Kenya	Uganda
Kuwait	Upper Volta

The other three draft resolutions were then rejected. The draft calling for the withdrawal of U.S. and other forces was defeated by a vote of 25 to 67 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions; the draft calling for the dissolution of UNCURK, by a vote of 27 to 68

(U.S.), with 27 abstentions; and the draft calling for the end to discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations, by a vote of 24 to 70 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions.

On December 20 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted the UNCURK resolution recommended by the First Committee by a vote of 71 (U.S.) to 25, with 20 abstentions.

Middle East

U.N. PEACEMAKING EFFORTS

Efforts continued during 1968 toward the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with the provisions and principles set forth in the Security Council's resolution of November 22, 1967. U.N. Special Representative Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, appointed by the Secretary-General under the resolution "to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement" of the Arab-Israeli dispute, was active throughout the year in attempting to carry out his mandate. He traveled extensively between his headquarters at Nicosia and the capitals of Israel, Jordan, the U.A.R. and Lebanon for consultations with those governments. He met also on several occasions with representatives of the parties, other interested governments, and the Secretary-General at locations outside the Middle East, including U.N. Headquarters in New York. On several occasions the parties gave him written statements or questions for his transmission to the other side or for his use in seeking to clarify the positions of each on particular points.

Ambassador Jarring carried on his activities during the first 3

months of 1968 primarily in the area but visited New York for consultations with the Secretary-General between February 28 and March 2.

In one of four reports issued during the year, the Secretary-General on March 29 informed the Security Council that Ambassador Jarring, in his efforts to promote agreement between the governments concerned, had found a basic difference of outlook between the Governments of the U.A.R. and Jordan on the one hand and the Government of Israel on the other. These differences, the Secretary-General said, had been described in some detail by the parties themselves in Council documents and meetings. He noted that efforts to obtain an agreed statement of position concerning the implementation of the resolution, which could be followed by meetings of the parties under Jarring's auspices, had not resulted in agreement and had been interrupted by renewed incidents along the cease-fire lines.

Ambassador Jarring undertook further individual discussions with the parties in the Middle East throughout April and early May. He returned on May 15 to U.N. Headquarters at New York, where for 5 weeks he consulted frequently with the Secretary-General as well as with the permanent representatives of the parties. From June 21 to late July, while in Europe, he took advantage of the presence there of the Foreign Ministers of the U.A.R., Israel, and Jordan to meet with them in various European capitals. He returned to New York on July 22 for further consultations with the Secretary-General who, in a report to the Security Council on July 29, endorsed Jarring's intention to pursue his efforts further by renewing his contacts with the parties in their capitals.

Following these discussions in the area, Jarring returned to New York on September 23 in time for the

arrival there of the Foreign Ministers of the parties for the 23d session of the U.N. General Assembly. He held a number of meetings with each of them individually and received from the Foreign Ministers of Israel and the U.A.R., for transmission to the other, written communications restating the positions of their respective governments. Following this exchange of documents, the Foreign Ministers returned to their countries in November, having first reaffirmed the readiness of their governments to continue to cooperate with Jarring and to enter into further discussions with him whenever he deemed it appropriate.

Ambassador Jarring had another round of talks with the parties in the Middle East in December, after which he returned to Moscow to resume, for the time being, his duties as Swedish Ambassador to the Soviet Union. He told the Secretary-General that he planned to renew his contacts with the parties early in 1969, after having given them time "for reflection and for careful consideration of their respective positions."

U.S. Role

Throughout 1968 the United States supported in every way possible the peacemaking efforts of Ambassador Jarring. It followed his activities closely, both through frequent consultations with the parties directly concerned and through direct talks with Jarring during his periodic visits to New York. The United States continuously urged the parties to extend their full cooperation to Ambassador Jarring and strove by all means at its disposal to foster the development of an atmosphere of conciliation and compromise that would contribute to the success of Jarring's mission.

The United States noted toward the end of the year that Ambassador

Jarring, despite his skillful and tireless efforts to carry out the mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council, had not yet been able to translate the Council resolution of November 22, 1967, into perceptible progress toward peace. In the Security Council on September 11, Ambassador Ball described the obstacles confronting the Jarring mission:

All too long the parties have delayed in getting on with the hard, dry, worrisome task of finding a just and lasting reconciliation of their competing interests. They have let far too much valuable time be lost in their obsession with procedures and semantics and diversionary efforts to gain temporary and quite meaningless tactical advantages.

In these circumstances, the United States made clear its determination to maintain its intensive support of the efforts undertaken by the U.N. Special Representative in accordance with the November 22 resolution, in the conviction that the continuance of his mission represented the best hope for the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIVITY

In the absence of a general political settlement in the Middle East, constant tension and recurrent violations of the Security Council cease-fire resolutions marked relations between Israel and neighboring Arab States. These factors, along with disputes arising from Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories, led to nine series of meetings of the Security Council during the year.

Cease-Fire Violations

In the wake of the Arab-Israeli hostilities of June 1967, Arab *fedayeen* (guerrilla) organizations became increasingly active in carrying out operations against Israel, both in Israel itself and in the occupied territories. Many of these commando

missions were launched from the East Bank of the Jordan River. They led to retaliatory action by organized Israeli military units, which several times took the form of relatively large-scale operations against suspected guerrilla concentrations in Jordan. Cease-fire violations by both sides also occurred in the Suez Canal sector. On six occasions during 1968 the Security Council was convened for a series of meetings to deal with allegations of cease-fire violations of one kind or another.

COUNCIL MEETINGS: MARCH 21-24. The first such occasion resulted from an Israeli military raid against alleged terrorist bases located in the Karameh area, in the northern part of the Jordan valley, and in the area of Safi, south of the Dead Sea.

On the day of the attack—March 21—the Jordanian Representative informed the President of the Security Council by letter of the Israeli “mass attack” and requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the “most serious situation resulting from this act of aggression.” A letter from the Israeli Representative later that day stated that Israeli forces had been “compelled to take localized and limited preventive measures” against the training centers and staging bases located on the East Bank of the Jordan River, in order to avert increased large-scale acts of terrorism, which, the letter said, were about to be launched against Israel. He also requested a meeting of the Security Council, to deal with Jordanian “acts of aggression and violations of the cease-fire.”

The Council convened at noon on March 21; and on March 24, at its seventh meeting on the subject, the President presented a draft resolution which had been developed during informal consultations among the members of the Council. The resolution was adopted unan-

imously the same day; it (1) deplored the loss of life and heavy damage to property; (2) condemned the military action launched by Israel; (3) deplored all violent incidents in violation of the cease-fire; (4) declared that such action “of military reprisal and other grave violations of the cease-fire could not be tolerated and that the Security Council would have to consider further steps as envisaged in the Charter to ensure against repetition of such acts; (5) called on Israel to desist from acts in contravention of the Council’s humanitarian resolution of June 14, 1967, concerning treatment of civilians in the occupied territories; and (6) requested the Security Council to keep the situation under review and report to the Council as appropriate.

COUNCIL MEETINGS: MARCH 30-APRIL 4. Less than a week later, on March 29, Jordan and Israel both requested an urgent Council meeting. Jordan complained of the March 29 Israeli air and artillery bombardment of several Jordanian villages and military positions situated in the northern part of the Jordan valley, while Israel cited a series of incidents for which it held Jordan responsible, particularly the shelling of Israeli villages in the Beit Shean area of the Jordan valley. The Council met on March 30.

No resolution was tabled during the debate. At the fourth meeting in this series, April 4, the Security Council President, after consultations with other Council members, made a statement expressing their deep concern at the “deteriorating situation in the area” and their view that the Council “should remain seized of the situation and keep it under close review.”

COUNCIL MEETING: JUNE 5. On June 5 the Security Council convened again at the request of Jordan and Israel. In his request the Jordanian Representative charged

Israel with violating the cease-fire on June 4 by shelling and bombing the city of Irbid and several small villages on the East Bank. He reported 30 killed and 60 wounded in Irbid alone. The Representative of Israel in his letter countercharged that Jordanian artillery positions in the Irbid area had shelled several Israeli villages, killing three persons and wounding five.

In view of the attack on Senator Robert Kennedy the Council met only briefly on June 5 without discussing the allegations of the two parties, which remained pending.

COUNCIL MEETINGS: AUGUST 5-16. On August 4 Jordan reported to the Council another Israeli air attack, this time near the city of Salt, 19 miles west of Amman. The Israeli Representative stated that the raid was against two terrorist bases, from which attacks against Israel were being staged. On August 5 Jordan requested an urgent meeting of the Council to "consider the grave situation resulting from the continued Israeli acts of aggression against Jordan." Israel also requested a meeting, to consider the "grave and continual violations of the cease-fire by Jordan," including both firing across cease-fire lines from Jordanian military positions and terrorist acts emanating from Jordanian territory carried out "with the connivance, aid and encouragement of the Jordanian Government and armed forces." The Council met on August 5 and on 6 subsequent occasions during the next 11 days to discuss these complaints.

On August 16 the Council unanimously adopted a draft resolution that had emerged from informal consultations among the members and was presented by the Council President. It (1) reaffirmed the Council resolution of March 24; (2) deplored the loss of life and heavy damage to property; (3) considered that "premeditated and repeated military attacks endanger the

maintenance of the peace"; (4) condemned "the further military attacks launched by Israel in flagrant violation" of the U.N. Charter and the March 24 resolution and warned that if such attacks were repeated the Council would "duly take account of the failure to comply with the present resolution."

COUNCIL MEETINGS: SEPTEMBER 4-18. On September 4 the Council reconvened at the request of Israel, which charged that U.A.R. soldiers had crossed the Suez Canal on August 26 and ambushed an Israeli patrol, killing two Israeli soldiers and kidnaping a third. U.N. observers who investigated the incident reported evidence indicating mining and ambush of the patrol. They were unable, however, to make a conclusive finding regarding the kidnaping. Discussion continued on September 5, after which the Council adjourned for consultations.

On September 8 the Israeli Representative complained to the Council that U.A.R. forces had opened artillery fire against Israeli positions along an extended sector of the Suez Canal and requested immediate resumption of Council consideration of Israel's complaint. On the same day the U.A.R. Representative complained that Israeli forces had opened fire against four Egyptian cities on the west side of the Suez Canal and also requested an urgent Council meeting. The Council met that day and, after some discussion, recessed for informal consultations. Following the recess, the Council President reported that he was authorized to make the following declaration:

The Security Council, having met urgently to consider the item on its agenda contained in document S/1448/Rev.1, having heard the reports of General Odd Bull presented by the Secretary-General, and having heard the statements of the Representatives of Israel and of the United Arab Republic, deeply regrets the loss of life, and requires the parties strictly to observe the cease-fire called for by the Security Council's resolutions.

While continuing to receive further information from the UNTSO Commander, the Council met again on September 10, 11, and 18 to continue its consideration of the incidents in the Suez sector. At the September 18 meeting it adopted a resolution developed in consultations conducted by the President with Council members. The resolution was supported by all members except Algeria, which abstained. After recalling the Council President's declaration of September 8 and expressing grave concern at the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, the resolution insisted that the Council's cease-fire resolutions be rigorously respected, reaffirmed the Council's resolution of November 22, 1967, and urged all parties to cooperate fully with Ambassador Jarring in the fulfillment of his mandate under that resolution.

COUNCIL MEETINGS: NOVEMBER 1-4. In late October cease-fire violations intensified in the Suez Canal area. A heavy artillery barrage on October 26 by U.A.R. forces against Israeli positions along the entire length of the Suez Canal led Israeli forces to return the fire. Port Tewfiq, on the U.A.R. side, was hit and a refinery severely damaged. On October 31 Israeli commandos blew up two bridges and damaged a power station located deep in U.A.R. territory. The U.A.R. Representative reported this incident the following day and requested an urgent Security Council meeting to consider the situation.

The Council met on November 1 and 4 to consider all the charges of cease-fire violations in the Suez sector, but no resolution was introduced and no action was taken.

U.S. POSITION. Throughout the Security Council's consideration of the above complaints of cease-fire

violations, the United States consistently expressed its opposition to all violence in the Middle East in violation of the Council's cease-fire resolutions. While deploring acts of terrorism and stressing the obligation of governments to use all available means to prevent such action by individuals or groups within their territory, U.S. Representatives also called for the end of large-scale military attacks carried out by regular government forces, pointing out that such reprisals did not bring security, but greater insecurity. On several occasions U.S. Representatives urged that the Council treat all cease-fire violations evenhandedly and not take a strong line only against military reprisals while failing to condemn acts of terrorism by the other side. They also stressed the threat which violence posed to the efforts of U.N. Representative Gunnar Jarring to promote agreement on a peaceful settlement. In connection with incidents along the Jordan-Israel cease-fire line, they repeatedly urged both parties to consider the stationing of U.N. observers in the area to help implement the cease-fire. Neither side, however, accepted these suggestions.

Jerusalem

The question of the status of Jerusalem, which had been the subject of two General Assembly resolutions in 1967, came before the Security Council in early 1968 when Israel announced plans to hold a military parade in the city on May 2 to mark the 20th anniversary of Israel's independence. The parade was to be routed through East Jerusalem, formerly administered by Jordan, as well as through the western section. On April 25 Jordan called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider "this development and the situation in

Jerusalem and take effective measures to remedy the situation."

On April 26 the Secretary-General reported to the Council on a *note verbale* he had sent to the Representative of Israel on April 20 expressing his concern that the intended parade would increase tension in the Middle East and adversely affect efforts being made to achieve a peaceful settlement in the area.

COUNCIL MEETINGS: APRIL 27-MAY 21. The Security Council held two meetings on April 27 during which India, Pakistan, and Senegal introduced a resolution which, with only minor changes, was adopted unanimously late that day. The resolution called on Israel to refrain from holding the parade and requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation of the resolution. Immediately following the Council's action, the Representative of Israel stated that the resolution dealt with a question within Israel's internal jurisdiction and, therefore, could not be accepted by Israel. He said the Independence Day celebrations in "United Jerusalem" would take place as planned.

Further Council meetings were held on May 1 and 2. On the latter date the Secretary-General reported to the Council that Israel had held the parade as scheduled. The Council thereupon unanimously adopted a resolution, developed by the President in consultations with Council members, which deeply deplored the holding of the parade by Israel "in disregard of the unanimous decision adopted by the Council on 27 April 1968."

During further meetings on May 3, 6, 7, 9, 20, and 21, the Council discussed the general question of the status of Jerusalem, with particular reference to Israel's policies and actions. At the May 3 meeting the

Council, on the proposal of Jordan, agreed to hear Rouhi El-Khatib under rule 39 of the Council's Provisional Rules of Procedure as a person "competent . . . to supply it with information." During the discussion of this proposal the delegates of Algeria, Hungary, and the U.S.S.R. made clear their view that Mr. El-Khatib had a special competence as "the elected Mayor of Jerusalem." Mr. El-Khatib's statement enumerated various Israeli actions, which he said were carried out against the wishes of the inhabitants of the "Arab sector of Jerusalem" in order to accomplish "the 'unification' of the two sectors of the City of Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty."

During subsequent meetings the Jordanian Representative was among those who supported Mr. El-Khatib's charge that Israel was trying to change the identity and character of Jerusalem, "to turn what is Arab into Jewish and Israeli." He charged Israel with violation of previous U.N. resolutions on Jerusalem and asked the Council to call on Israel to rescind the measures it had taken in East Jerusalem. The Israeli Representative defended the actions of his government as designed to improve living conditions in Jerusalem, whose historic connection with the Jewish people he reviewed. Israel's aim was peace, he said, and he called for an end to warfare and to acrimony in the Council and other U.N. organs.

At the May 20 meeting of the Council Pakistan introduced a draft resolution, cosponsored by Senegal, which, with several changes, was adopted the following day with 13 affirmative votes and the United States and Canada abstaining. In the resolution the Security Council, after noting that since the adoption of the General Assembly resolutions of July 4 and 14, 1967, Israel had taken "further measures and actions in contravention of those resolu-

tions," and reaffirming that "acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible," (1) deplored the failure of Israel to comply with the General Assembly resolutions mentioned above; (2) considered that "all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status"; (3) urgently called upon Israel "to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem"; and (4) requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation of the resolution.

U.S. POSITION. Ambassador Goldberg explained that U.S. support for the two resolutions concerning the parade was based on the belief that the parade would aggravate tensions in the area. On the more general question, he pointed out on May 9 that:

The United States does not accept or recognize unilateral actions by any of the states in the area as altering the status of Jerusalem. My Government has publicly stated that such unilateral measures, including expropriation of land and legislated administrative action taken by the Government of Israel, cannot be considered other than interim and provisional and cannot affect the present international status, nor prejudice the final and permanent status, of Jerusalem.

Prior to the vote on the resolution adopted May 21, Ambassador Goldberg explained that the United States had been prepared to support a resolution declaring that unilateral actions and measures by Israel could not be accepted or recognized as altering or prejudging the status of Jerusalem, and calling on Israel to refrain from such actions. The United States also considered it important, however, that

the resolution refer to the Council's resolution of November 22, 1967, and indicate support for U.N. Special Representative Gunnar Jarring. The United States had desired inclusion of a provision calling on all parties to avoid all acts that might prejudice Jarring's peacemaking efforts. He noted that the future of Jerusalem was a problem falling within the purview of the Security Council resolution of November 22 and of Ambassador Jarring's mission and mandate, and reaffirmed the U.S. view that the problem of Jerusalem could not "realistically be dealt with apart from other aspects of the situation in the Middle East with which the November 22 resolution is concerned."

Humanitarian Resolution

Acting pursuant to his reporting obligations under the Security Council resolution of June 14, 1967, and the General Assembly resolution of July 4, 1967, both of which dealt with treatment of civil populations and prisoners of war in the area of conflict in the Middle East, the Secretary-General in February 1968 addressed letters to the Governments of Israel, Syria, the U.A.R., and Jordan. He suggested it would be useful for him to send a representative to the area to provide firsthand, up-to-date information on conditions there, as Nils-Göran Gussing had done in October 1967 after visiting the four countries mentioned on behalf of the Secretary-General. Following the exchange of a series of letters with the governments concerned, as well as informal consultations with their U.N. representatives, the Secretary-General on July 31 reported to the Security Council his conclusion that there was no basis on which a second mission could proceed. He believed his correspondence with the four govern-

ments, which was published in his report, made clear that "the difficulty arises only from an attempt to broaden the scope and terms of reference of the new mission beyond those applied to the old." This referred to Israel's request that the mission look into the treatment of Jewish minorities in Lebanon and Iraq as well as in the other three Arab States visited by Mr. Gussing. Since the resolutions in question referred to civil populations and prisoners of war in "the area of conflict," and since no military operations had taken place in Iraq or Lebanon during the June war, the Secretary-General believed he had no legal authority to request the governments of either to receive his representative.

COUNCIL MEETINGS: SEPTEMBER 20-27. On September 17 Pakistan and Senegal requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the July 31 report of the Secretary-General. These two countries immediately submitted a draft resolution which, after discussion during two meetings and extensive informal consultations, was adopted in revised form on September 27 by a vote of 12 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Canada, Denmark, U.S.). By the resolution, the Council (1) deplored the delay in the implementation of its resolution of June 14, 1967, "because of the conditions still being set by Israel for receiving a Special Representative of the Secretary-General"; (2) requested the Secretary-General urgently to dispatch a representative to the Arab territories under Israeli occupation and to report on the resolution's implementation; (3) requested Israel to receive the Secretary-General's representative, cooperate with him, and facilitate his work; and (4) recommended that the Secretary-General be afforded full cooperation in his efforts "to bring about the imple-

mentation of the present resolution" and its predecessor.

In explaining the U.S. position Ambassador Buffum on September 27 emphasized to the Council U.S. concern for the welfare of all those who had suffered from the 1967 conflict, including particularly the Arab people living in the territories occupied by Israel. He pointed out that the United States had been prepared to support a proposal clearly providing for dispatch of a special representative of the Secretary-General on the same basis as the June 14 resolution, for which, he recalled, the United States had voted. The sponsors of the resolution adopted, however, wished to dissociate the Security Council from the fate of the Jewish minorities in the area of conflict. His delegation, he said, believed Mr. Gussing's mission properly embraced the fate of all those in the area of conflict. He noted that the resolution adopted was ambiguous but seemed designed to narrow the terms of reference of the special representative and was thus not designed to achieve practical results.

On October 14 the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council pursuant to the September 27 resolution. It contained the texts of correspondence he had had with Israel, Jordan, Syria, and the U.A.R. In letters of September 28 he had asked for the cooperation of all four with his special representative and, in light of the most recent resolution's provisions, had also specifically asked Israel to receive and facilitate the work of the special representative. Israel's reply stated its willingness to receive and cooperate with a representative on the same basis as laid down for Mr. Gussing's mission. It asked first, however, for assurances from the Arab States that participated in the war that the representative "will have the access and cooperation indis-

pensable to the fulfillment of his mission concerning the Jewish minorities in their countries." The Secretary-General considered Israel's reply only "conditional and therefore inadequate" and that it did not afford him a basis on which to dispatch a representative in accordance with the Council resolution of September 27.

Interference in Civil Aviation

The year ended with Security Council consideration of the December 28 raid by Israeli military forces against Arab civil aircraft on the ground at the Khaldeh International Airport in Beirut. Thirteen Lebanese airliners, valued at \$41 million, were destroyed. The attack grew out of two earlier assaults on Israeli civil aircraft by Palestinian terrorists. The first was a July 23 hijacking to Algiers of an El Al airliner by three professed Arab "liberation fighters." Israel did not request Security Council consideration of the matter, which was resolved through the efforts of friendly governments, particularly Italy, and of the Secretary-General. Algeria released the last passengers it held, the crew, and the plane in early September. The second incident was a machinegun and handgrenade attack on an El Al airliner at the Athens airport on December 26, carried out by two Palestinians who claimed they had flown from Beirut to Athens under orders of an Arab terrorist organization. One Israeli passenger was killed and the airplane severely damaged.

COUNCIL MEETINGS: DECEMBER 29-31. The Security Council met December 29 at the request of both Lebanon and Israel. The Lebanese complaint drew attention to the "flagrant act of aggression committed by the Israeli Air Force against Lebanon," pointing out that "Israeli authorities admitted responsibility for this wanton and pre-

meditated attack against the civilian International Airport of Beirut." The Israeli complaint requested consideration of "the constant violation by Lebanon of the United Nations Charter and the cease-fire resolutions of the Security Council, by assisting and abetting acts of warfare, violence and terror by irregular forces and organizations harbored by Lebanon and operating from that country against Israel territory, citizens and property and in particular with regard to attacks upon Israel civil aviation."

Following the statements of Lebanon and Israel, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Wiggins, reiterated his government's opposition to all forms of violence in the Middle East. He stressed that the United States had been concerned over both the Algiers and Athens incidents and viewed all such acts of armed interruption of civil air traffic as intolerable. At the same time, he said, the United States considered the Israeli retaliation at Beirut unjustifiable since there was no evidence of Lebanese Government involvement in the earlier Athens incident. Moreover, the raid was entirely out of proportion to the act which preceded it. He also deplored the raid because it "enlarged the ring of reprisal and widened the circle of terror to touch areas and peoples hitherto struggling to keep aloof from these measures." He expressed U.S. willingness to join the Security Council in condemning the Israeli action. He added that the United States would continue intensive efforts to support Ambassador Jarring and to seek a meaningful arms limitation agreement in the area.

During the debate, Lebanon, the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Algeria called for mandatory sanctions against Israel and payment of full compensation by Israel for the losses resulting from the Beirut raid.

On December 31 at its third meeting on this subject the Council

unanimously adopted a resolution worked out during informal consultations among the members. It (1) condemned Israel for "its premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the Charter and the cease-fire resolutions"; (2) considered that "such premeditated acts of violence endanger the maintenance of peace"; (3) warned Israel that if such acts were repeated, "the Council would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions"; and (4) considered Lebanon entitled to "appropriate redress for the destruction it suffered, responsibility for which has been acknowledged by Israel."

In explaining the U.S. vote, Ambassador Wiggins disassociated the United States from the sweeping generalized attacks made against Israel during the debate. Noting that the resolution had not been entirely satisfactory to his delegation, he called for an effort to perfect new rules of international law that would give major world airports and civilian air transport generally a special status and provide for examination of every case in which that status was disregarded.

U.N. CONCILIATION COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE (PCC)

In light of the activities of the U.N. Special Representative for the Middle East, Ambassador Jarring, directed toward achievement of a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the PCC held no meetings during 1968 and submitted no report to the 23d General Assembly.

U.N. RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST

General Assembly Consideration

Discussion of the annual report of the Commissioner General of UNRWA at the 23d General Assembly opened in the Special

Political Committee on November 11 with a statement by the U.N. Secretary-General calling special attention to certain problems requiring urgent action. Concerning UNRWA's mandate, due to expire June 30, 1969, he expressed the view that failure to provide for UNRWA's continued services would be "unthinkable," since it would deal a harsh blow to the conscience of mankind and render a long-term settlement of the refugee problem far more difficult to achieve. By the same token, he added, if UNRWA were to continue, it must be provided with the means to carry out its task adequately. Although certain governments had responded generously to appeals for contributions, there were indications that the Agency's income would be some \$5 million below estimated requirements.

Labeling the potential consequences very serious—"almost catastrophic"—the Secretary-General appealed urgently for generous contributions from all governments. He recalled that the hostilities of June 1967 and further violent incidents since then had created a new displacement of refugees and other persons, especially in Jordan. He suggested that the best means of relieving their plight would be to facilitate their return to their former homes and camps. He recognized, however, that a major factor and possible obstacle to such a development was the continuing occupation by Israeli forces of the area concerned and the lack of any indication of when that occupation would end.

In presenting his annual report to the Committee on November 11, UNRWA Commissioner General Laurence Michelmore described as "great and pressing" the human needs of the Palestine refugees and those persons displaced as a result of the hostilities of June 1967. Many thousands of displaced persons were living in extremely precarious con-

ditions in emergency camps in East Jordan and Syria where winter would bring severe winds, heavy rains, and cold. UNRWA could provide better care for them, and at less cost, if they could return to the homes and camps in which they were living before the outbreak of hostilities. He echoed the Secretary-General's call to governments for generous contributions to meet UNRWA's rising costs. (For more on financial aspects see below, p. 52.)

Some 60 countries took part in the ensuing debate, which continued until December 10. The Committee also agreed, as it had at previous sessions, to hear representatives of the "Palestine Arab delegation" and the "Palestine Liberation Organization," without this signifying recognition of those organizations.

During the debate Arab representatives reiterated their longstanding complaints of nonimplementation of past Assembly decisions on the refugee problem, attacking Israel in particular in this respect. They were joined by many others in urging Israel to permit the speedy return of those who had fled from areas occupied by Israel in the war of June 1967 and who now wished to return. Israel denied any special responsibility in connection with the refugee problem, but expressed willingness to discuss it along with other issues in direct negotiation with the Arab States concerned in order for the parties to agree on a lasting peace settlement. The Israeli Representative described measures taken by his government to repatriate newly displaced persons in advance of an overall peace settlement, pointing out that the question of their return was linked to the need to ensure the safety, welfare, and security of the other inhabitants of the areas where military operations had taken place in 1967.

U.S. POSITION. Speaking on November 18, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Wiggins, reaffirmed

U.S. support for UNRWA and urged the Committee to extend the Agency's mandate. Calling attention to the U.S. Government's past financial support for UNRWA, which he said would continue, Ambassador Wiggins emphasized the need for all governments to assist UNRWA with generous financial and other support. He noted that for 20 years UNRWA has struggled desperately to care for more than a million people who had suffered from the scourge of war. He pointed out, however, that the Palestine refugee problem would not be solved

. . . until the warring powers have reconciled their differences, settled their rivalries, solved their conflicting interests, and conferred upon the stricken Middle East the peace that has eluded it for a generation.

Our hopes, the hopes of the world, and the hopes of these unfortunate people are now with the mission of Ambassador Jarring, who is laboring to resolve the conflicts of the Middle East under the mandate given him by the United Nations in Security Council Resolution 242 adopted on November 22, 1967.

Ambassador Wiggins also called attention to the distress of those who had been uprooted, some for a second time, as a result of the hostilities of June 1967. He expressed particular concern over the plight of some 75,000 persons who, housed chiefly in tented camps on the hills of East Jordan, were facing a second difficult winter. He voiced the hope that the Government and people of Israel, mindful of their own sad experiences of the past, would respond to the plight of these persons with a greatly expanded program for returning most of them to the lands west of the Jordan River in advance of a permanent peace settlement.

Also speaking for the United States, Senator John Sherman Cooper introduced in the Committee on December 6 a draft resolution providing for a 3-year extension of UNRWA's mandate. Senator Cooper told the Committee that the history of the Palestine refugee problem and the many efforts that had been

made to deal with it effectively made it highly unlikely that a final solution would be achieved outside the context of the agreed Arab-Israeli peace settlement envisaged by the Security Council in its resolution of November 22, 1967. Along with the continued search for an accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles of that resolution, UNRWA's essential work must also continue.

Senator Cooper welcomed the fact that UNRWA had been able to resume its work rectifying the ration rolls and noted the cooperation in this respect of Jordan and Lebanon. He was also gratified at renewed efforts to rehabilitate refugees, particularly through education, and cited the contributions of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the Federal Republic of Germany to this program. He was disturbed, however, by evidence that exorbitant charges levied on the Agency by certain host governments for rail transportation of foodstuffs and other materials were depriving it of funds that should be spent on refugee services.

Senator Cooper said the U.S. Government believed that Israel should comply to the fullest extent possible with the Security Council resolution of June 14, 1967, which called upon the Israeli Government to facilitate the return of persons who had fled the areas where military operations took place in 1967. Only about 20,000 persons had so far been allowed to return to their homes, and the United States considered this an inadequate response to the Security Council's appeal.

U.S. DRAFT RESOLUTION. The resolution introduced by Senator Cooper called for the extension of UNRWA's mandate until June 30, 1972, and was otherwise virtually identical to that adopted the previous year. After recalling previous resolutions on this subject, it

(1) noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the

refugees had not been effected, that there had been no substantial progress in reintegrating refugees by repatriation or resettlement, and that, therefore, the situation continued to be a matter of serious concern;

(2) thanked UNRWA's Commissioner General and staff, as well as other agencies and organizations, for continued assistance to the refugees;

(3) directed the Commissioner General to continue his efforts, including rectification of the relief rolls, to assure, in cooperation with the governments concerned, the most equitable distribution of relief based on need;

(4) noted with regret that the PCC had been unable to find a means to achieve progress on the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) (which provided for repatriation or compensation of the refugees) and requested the PCC to exert continued efforts toward its implementation;

(5) directed attention to the critical financial position of UNRWA;

(6) noted with concern that contributions continued to fall short of requirements; and

(7) called upon all governments to make the most generous efforts possible to meet UNRWA's anticipated needs.

The resolution was adopted in committee on December 11 by 101 to 0, with only Israel abstaining. It was adopted in plenary on December 19 by 105 to 0, with 3 abstentions.

REFUGEE RETURN RESOLUTION. Argentina, Iran, Pakistan, Senegal, Turkey, and Yugoslavia cosponsored a draft resolution recalling the Security Council resolution of June 14, 1967; expressing the conviction that the plight of the displaced persons could best be relieved by their speedy return to the homes and camps they occupied prior to June 5, 1967; and calling upon the Govern-

ment of Israel to take effective and immediate steps for their return without delay.

This resolution was approved in committee on December 11 by a rollcall vote of 91 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with 9 abstentions (Botswana, Colombia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Rwanda, Togo, Uruguay, Venezuela). It was adopted in plenary on December 19 by 100 (U.S.) to 1, with 6 abstentions. Following the vote the Israeli Representative said that he had wished to vote against the resolution but that through a technical error his vote had not been recorded.

HUMANITARIAN RESOLUTION. Sweden, with 16 cosponsors, submitted a third draft resolution stressing the humanitarian aspects of the problem of the persons displaced as a result of the war of June 1967. It reaffirmed resolutions on this subject adopted by the General Assembly in 1967 at its fifth emergency special session and 22d regular session; endorsed UNRWA's efforts, on a temporary and emergency basis, to assist displaced persons in serious need as a result of the 1967 hostilities; and appealed to governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute generously for these purposes to UNRWA and other organizations involved in the emergency program.

This resolution was adopted in committee on December 12 by a vote of 88 (U.S.) to 0. It was adopted in plenary on December 19 by a vote of 106 to 0.

PROPERTY CUSTODIAN RESOLUTION. On December 11 Afghanistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Somalia submitted to the Committee a draft resolution calling for the appointment of a custodian "to protect and administer Arab property, assets, and property rights in Israel and to receive income derived therefrom on behalf of the rightful owners." This idea has long been favored by the Arab States, but

vigorously opposed by Israel, which has made clear it would not cooperate with any such custodian even if appointed. An identical proposal had been rejected in committee at the 20th and 21st Assembly sessions in 1965 and 1966. Although it had been adopted in committee by a margin of four votes at the 22d session in 1967, it had not been pressed to a vote in plenary.

The United States strongly opposed this draft, as it had in the past, on the grounds that (1) establishment of a property custodian would neither facilitate the tasks of UNRWA nor improve the prospects for a realistic permanent solution of the refugee problem, but might seriously jeopardize those prospects; (2) such action would constitute a very substantial obstacle to the mission of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Jarring; (3) the United Nations had no right under the Charter or in international law to try to set up a custodian for properties within any sovereign state; and, (4) it would put the Secretary-General in an impossible position to direct him to implement a resolution that disregarded the Charter and international law.

The draft resolution was rejected in committee on December 13 by a vote of 42 to 44 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions.

Financial Aspects

In reporting to the Committee on UNRWA's financial situation, Commissioner General Michelmores said that developments since June 1967 had added materially to UNRWA's budgetary problems. He estimated that continuing UNRWA's current program in 1969 would cost about \$42.5 million, compared to an annual level of approximately \$37.5 million from 1964 through 1967 (not including emergency expenditures in 1967). Part of this increase was due to increased costs for food, health,

and educational services, which could no longer be offset by reductions in staff and other economies, and part could be traced to the continued expense of providing emergency assistance to displaced persons and refugees, for which special contributions were not as easy to obtain as they had been in the previous 2 years. If the General Assembly decided to continue UNRWA's mandate, he hoped it would consider finding the means to ensure that the necessary funds would be available. If adequate funds were not forthcoming, he said, "a reduction in services to the refugee population would be inescapable, with resulting human hardship and suffering."

Mr. Michelmore reported that 38 governments had made pledges to UNRWA totaling \$35,750,000 at the annual pledging conference held on December 6. He estimated that with anticipated additional pledges from governments and further donations from nongovernmental sources, UNRWA's income for 1969 would amount to \$37.5 million, or \$5 million short of what the Agency needed to maintain its existing activities. He outlined for the Committee various reductions in UNRWA services that would be necessary if this deficit still existed in the early months of 1969.

U.S. CONTRIBUTION. Representing the United States at the December 6 pledging conference, Senator Cooper congratulated the Commissioner General and his staff on their achievements in the face of continuing difficult circumstances and noted that UNRWA's work had become more essential and important than before. He said his government shared Mr. Michelmore's concern over the budget deficit projected for 1969 since, if the Agency was to carry out its mandate effectively, it clearly must be assured of adequate resources. He announced a U.S. pledge to UNRWA of \$22.2 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, pointing

out that this contribution would, as in the past, consist of both cash and commodities required by the Agency. With this contribution, he said, the United States would have contributed close to half a billion dollars to UNRWA, an amount representing nearly 70% of government contributions to the Agency during its existence. Recalling that U.S. representatives on previous occasions had viewed this percentage as disproportionately high for a multilateral program of this sort, he again urged that other governments, in particular those that had not done so in the past, respond generously to UNRWA's appeal for the funds it so desperately needed to carry on its humanitarian work.

Oman

Although a U.N. *Ad Hoc* Committee had concluded in 1965 that the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman "may not be considered a colony or protectorate in a formal sense," the 20th General Assembly, over U.S. and U.K. objections, subsequently adopted a resolution in December of that year establishing the issue as a "colonial" one and requesting the Committee of 24 to examine the situation in the territory.

During 1968 the Committee of 24 considered the territory briefly at four meetings between March 20 and October 31 and, as suggested by the 22d Assembly in 1967, established a Subcommittee on Oman. The United States entered a reservation to this action, noting that it has had treaty relationships with the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman since 1833, considers Oman an independent country, and thus does not regard it as a matter for the Committee's consideration. Australia, Italy, and Finland expressed similar views; the United Kingdom did not participate in the debate. The Subcommittee did

not report during the year, and the Committee of 24, in its report to the 23d General Assembly, said it would consider the item at its next session, subject to instructions from the Assembly.

On December 9 Syria and Mauritania introduced in the Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) of the 23d General Assembly a draft resolution on Oman that was eventually sponsored by 26 states. The draft recalled earlier Assembly resolutions and deplored the failure of the United Kingdom to implement them; reaffirmed the Assembly's 1966 and 1967 resolutions, which among other things called for the removal of all British troops and the cessation of "all repressive action" by the United Kingdom against the people of the territory; called upon the United Kingdom to implement the Colonialism Declaration and other relevant resolutions; and requested the Committee of 24 to follow the situation and report to the 24th General Assembly. On December 12 the Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution by a vote of 58 to 17 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions.

On December 18 the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 66 to 18 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions. The United Kingdom did not participate in the vote.

South Africa—Apartheid

South Africa's policies of racial discrimination were considered during 1968 by the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (also known as the Special Committee on Apartheid),¹ by the 23d General Assembly, and by other bodies in the U.N. system, including ECOSOC commissions and the specialized agencies.

(See p. 122 for the consideration of apartheid by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and the International Conference on Human Rights.)

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID

In addition to holding a special session in Europe in June, the Committee held 10 regular meetings at U.N. Headquarters during 1968 when it considered the international embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa, the dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination, and the commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

The Committee decided on January 9 to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the two 1963 resolutions that called for an embargo on the sale of arms and military equipment to South Africa. In this connection it issued on February 21 a brief paper titled "Note on the Military and Police Build-Up in the Republic of South Africa: Review of Developments Since the Special Committee's Report of 17 October 1967." The paper, based primarily on British and South African press reports, affirmed that South Africa was expanding its military and police forces and was developing its own manufacturing capacity in the face of a growing inability to import.

On January 12 the Special Committee established a Subcommittee on Information on Apartheid to review past U.N. efforts to disseminate information on apartheid, study proposals for more effective dissemi-

¹ Established by the General Assembly in 1962 to keep the question of apartheid under continuing review and to submit reports as appropriate to the General Assembly and the Security Council. The members are Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, and Somalia.

nation, monitor the pertinent informational activities of the U.N. Secretariat, specialized agencies, and nongovernmental organizations, and report from time to time to the Special Committee.

On the same day the Committee sent a letter to anti-apartheid movements and intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned with apartheid, seeking their cooperation "in promoting international efforts to eradicate apartheid." To help it facilitate cooperation among them, the Committee requested the addressees to submit regular and detailed information on their activities. It also asked for information on their statutes and officers and copies of any publications or printed material on apartheid they may have issued.

The Committee held a special meeting on March 21, the anniversary of the shooting of peaceful demonstrators at Sharpeville, South Africa, which the 22d General Assembly had designated "International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination." Representatives of 97 countries, including the United States, attended and heard statements by the Secretary-General, the Prime Minister of Somalia, the Acting Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa, and the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

The Special Committee decided on April 18 to hold a session in Europe to consult with government officials and members of parliament, representatives of U.N. specialized agencies, and prominent individuals on "means to promote an international campaign against apartheid." During the last half of June the Committee visited Stockholm, London, and Geneva. The main points raised during the European meetings were amplified in the Committee's report to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Committee Report

In its report, adopted October 4, the Special Committee stated its view that the situation in South Africa had deteriorated during the year, and the danger of a wider conflict had increased with the extension of apartheid to neighboring territories. It referred to the "new dimension" brought to the situation by South Africa's intervention in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia (South-West Africa), and the decision of the "liberation movement" in South Africa to engage in armed struggle. Although the Committee affirmed that primary responsibility for the "liberation" of southern Africa lay with the people of the region, it believed that the United Nations should encourage member states to provide direct political, moral, material, and humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements. In this connection it mentioned the "reluctance" of South Africa's trading partners to implement fully the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on apartheid and pointed out that the Committee's recommendations, including calls for action under chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, had generally been adopted by overwhelming majorities in the General Assembly.

The Committee's report included a number of specific recommendations, many of which were later incorporated into a resolution adopted by the 23d General Assembly.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The Special Political Committee of the 23d Assembly considered "The Policy of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa" October 23–November 8 and November 13–15. The Committee had before it the report of the Special Committee, the report of

the Secretary-General on the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa, and other related documents.

On November 8 the U.S. Representative, Senator Cooper, stated:

We are in agreement with the large majority of member states in their condemnation of apartheid; and as a concrete demonstration of our attitude and policy, the United States has prohibited the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition, military vehicles, and equipment and materials for their manufacture and maintenance.

He reiterated that

. . . the United States has faithfully kept and intends to continue keeping its commitment to prohibit the sale and shipment to South Africa of all forms of military equipment.

He pointed out that the consequence of South Africa's determination "to enforce and further entrench discrimination and racism by governmental authority and power" had been "to set apart the largest segment of its population—the non-whites—as an inferior people, outside the political, economic, and social life of the country." He noted that the South African Government had enacted measures to hide the facts and stifle the inevitable cries of protest.

The Senator also referred to a growing concern among many U.S. elements about South Africa's refusal to abandon apartheid. While there had been no express call for coercive measures, one current of opinion in the U.S. Congress favored economic disengagement from South Africa as long as it continued its policy of apartheid. He quoted Senator Edward W. Brooke as follows:

I believe we must make clear to South Africa that, lacking evidence of that Government's willingness to move toward social justice and equality for the African population it controls, the United States will begin to disengage from its burgeoning economic ties to that country.

Although he could not predict whether this view, which he shared, would prevail, the Senator said that

. . . South Africa must take into account that the Government of the United States and its people have not in the past, and will not in the future, ignore South Africa's continuing refusal to move with the rest of mankind toward equality.

Apartheid Resolution

On November 13 a draft resolution on apartheid, ultimately sponsored by 49 states, was introduced into the Special Political Committee. It was approved by the Committee on November 15 by a vote of 95 to 1, with 15 abstentions (U.S.), and in plenary session on December 2 by a vote of 85 to 2, with 14 abstentions (U.S.).

The resolution, *inter alia*, reiterated the Assembly's condemnation of apartheid as a "crime against humanity"; condemned South Africa for its "illegal occupation of Namibia and its military intervention and for its assistance to the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia"; reaffirmed the "urgent necessity" of eliminating apartheid so that the people of South Africa could "attain majority rule based on universal suffrage"; drew the attention of the Security Council to the "grave situation" in southern Africa and requested it to resume consideration of apartheid with a view to adopting, under chapter VII of the Charter, measures to ensure the full implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa; and condemned the acts of those states, "particularly the main trading partners of South Africa," and the activities of those foreign financial and other interests which it alleged "are encouraging that Government to persist in its racial policies."

In other provisions the resolution reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa

for all human rights; called upon all states and organizations to provide greater moral, political, and material assistance to the South African "liberation movement"; expressed grave concern about the "ruthless persecution" of opponents of apartheid and called for the release of all persons restricted or imprisoned for their opposition to apartheid; declared that imprisoned "freedom fighters" should be treated as prisoners of war under international law, particularly the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War; and requested the Secretary-General to establish a register of persons "executed, imprisoned, placed under house arrest or banning orders or deported for their opposition to apartheid" and a register of all available information on the mistreatment of prisoners.

The resolution also urged all states to discourage "by legislative or other acts" all activities, organizations, and propaganda supporting apartheid and racial discrimination; requested states to discourage the flow of migrants, particularly skilled and technical personnel, to South Africa and to suspend cultural, educational, sporting, and other exchanges with the Government and organizations in South Africa which practice apartheid.

Finally, the resolution requested the Special Committee on Apartheid to study and report on the implementation of previous U.N. resolutions on apartheid, the effects of the measures taken, and the means to secure more effective international action; and requested states, specialized agencies, regional and non-governmental organizations, and the Secretary-General to intensify their efforts to promote the international campaign against apartheid.

After the vote in the Special Political Committee, Ambassador Seymour M. Finger reiterated U.S. opposition to apartheid, but said that

South Africa should be persuaded through "judicious, effective, and practicable" measures to change its policies. In the U.S. view certain recommendations in the resolution did not meet these criteria. For example, the United States did not believe that the situation in South Africa constituted a threat to international peace and security within the meaning of the Charter thus warranting mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Further, the United States could not accept the recommendations to suppress pro-apartheid "propaganda" because these ran counter to the principles of freedom of speech, press, and assembly. The U.S. Representative noted:

The suppression of information may appear to serve a particular cause at a given time, but it is a practice which can only lead to less freedom for all people in the long run.

Similarly, although the United States supported the release of persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to apartheid and condemned the persecution of opponents of apartheid, it had legal reservations about the characterization of apartheid as a "crime against humanity" and about references to the Geneva Convention. The United States also had reservations about the financial implications of several of the recommendations.

The U.S. Representative also referred to a reservation of a more general nature. The judgments and recommendations in this resolution, he said, if carried out would commit member states in advance to a certain course of action in the Security Council and would require implementing legislation.

We believe a resolution with such far-reaching recommendations requires far greater time for serious consideration—as well as far more extensive consultations with those who support its objectives and whose cooperation is required for its effectiveness—than has been the case with this resolution. Indeed, the inadequacy of time for serious reflection and

the inadequacy of consultations gives to the resolution an element of unreality which is inconsistent with the seriousness of the subject matter.

Nevertheless, he said, despite opposition to several provisions and reservations on many others, the United States abstained on the resolution as a whole instead of voting against it because of its agreement with the view held by the great majority of member states that apartheid is totally repugnant to the concepts on which the United Nations was formed and on which the U.S. Government is based.

Trust Fund for South Africa

On November 13 Malaysia introduced an eight-power draft resolution on the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa which was designed to correct certain "deficiencies" noted by the Committee of Trustees in the original terms of reference so that the Trust Fund could be more widely applied. The Committee of Trustees felt that the terms of reference did not clearly cover some of the humanitarian needs, such as rehabilitation and education of released prisoners, relief to persons placed under banning and house arrest orders and their families, and the education of children of refugees.

The eight-power draft revised the purposes of the Fund to provide:

- (1) Legal assistance to persons persecuted under the repressive and discriminatory legislation of South Africa;
- (2) Relief to such persons and their dependents;
- (3) Education of such persons and their dependents;
- (4) Relief for refugees from South Africa.

The resolution also appealed to all states, organizations, and individuals for generous contributions to the Trust Fund.

The resolution was approved by the Special Political Committee on November 15 by a vote of 107

(U.S.) to 0, and adopted in plenary session on December 2 by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 2.

The Secretary-General reported to the Assembly that since the establishment of the Trust Fund in 1965 contributions totaled \$634,367 and grants \$533,400. The United States contributed \$25,000 during 1968. However, the U.S. Representative stated that the affirmative vote on the latest Trust Fund resolution was not a commitment to make a further contribution.

Proposal To Exclude South Africa From UNCTAD

Toward the end of the 23d General Assembly, following up a recommendation made by UNCTAD at its second session (see p. 82), 34 African and Asian states together with Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia sponsored a draft resolution that would have excluded South Africa from UNCTAD until it ended its policy of apartheid. The Secretary-General and his Legal Counsel opposed the move on legal and constitutional grounds. In their view, to exclude South Africa would violate the principle of sovereign equality of states provided for by article 2(1) of the U.N. Charter, and the manner in which the sponsors wished to proceed (by simple General Assembly resolution) would be contrary to Charter provisions under articles 5 and 6 regarding suspension and exclusion of members. The United States and a number of other countries (including certain African states) supported the views of the Secretary-General and his Legal Counsel.

The 40-power draft was first considered in the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) and was approved on December 3 by a rollcall vote of 49 to 22 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions, 31 absent, and 1 not participating. The U.S. Representative, Arthur E. Goldschmidt, made

clear in his statement before the vote that the U.S. position reflected no solicitude for South Africa's racial policies but was based on the belief that the integrity of the U.N. Charter must be preserved. Ambassador Wiggins made the same points later in plenary.

When the resolution was considered in plenary on December 13 Canada proposed to defer its consideration pending a clarification of the legal issues raised by the U.N. officials. A number of African states, led by Tanzania, took strong exception, and the Tanzanian Representative concluded his arguments for immediate adoption of the resolution by observing that the vote would show once and for all who Africa's friends were.

The vote on the Canadian motion was 47 (U.S.) to 52, with 23 abstentions, and 4 absent.

The Communist states abstained on the Canadian motion (except for Albania and Cuba who opposed it). On behalf of this group Hungary submitted a series of amendments to the 40-power draft designed to make

it recommendatory instead of mandatory. The Hungarian amendments were all roundly defeated, none commanding more than 12 votes in favor.

Before the vote on the resolution itself, Norway requested on a point of order that the President rule whether the proposed resolution was an "important question." The President then ruled that the exclusion of any member of the United Nations from any principal or subsidiary organ was an important question and required a two-thirds majority. His ruling, which was put to a vote as the result of an objection from the Tanzanian Representative, was upheld by a vote of 56 (U.S.) to 48, with 13 abstentions, and 9 absent. The final vote on the resolution itself failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority, with 55 in favor, 33 opposed (U.S.), 28 abstentions, and 10 absent.

Following the final vote a number of delegates who had voted for the resolution declared that they intended to continue efforts to bar South Africa from U.N. activities.

General Political Problems

Peacekeeping

COMMITTEE OF 33

During 1968 the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33)¹ made little headway either on the study of matters related to facilities, services, and personnel for peacekeeping (requested by the 22d General Assembly in 1967) or on its broad review of all aspects of peacekeeping.

Its inability to come to grips with fundamentals reflected a continuing divergence among key members over the principles that should govern the authorizing and financing of U.N.

¹ Members of the Committee are Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

peacekeeping and, more broadly, over the authority and capacity of the United Nations to conduct effective peacekeeping. There was, however, some progress on the consideration of practical steps to improve peacekeeping preparations. The fact that the Committee operated on the basis of consensus rather than voting tended to limit the area and pace of agreement.

In eight meetings between March 4 and June 27, the Committee of 33 made two decisions on the organization of its work. The first was to invite members of the Committee to submit, as a basis for the Committee's study, oral and written statements on their experience and national preparations in making troops and facilities available to the United Nations. The second was to establish a Working Group consisting of Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Mexico, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States to review these national statements and appropriate U.N. documentation, and to draft guidelines and conclusions for the Committee.

Statements on Peacekeeping Preparations

Statements and memoranda were presented to the Committee by Austria, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and also by three nonmembers of the Committee—Denmark, Finland, and Norway. These described steps taken to earmark and train standby forces and/or suggested ways to improve peacekeeping readiness through advance training and the preparation of standardized regulations and operating procedures. Training was particularly stressed since U.N. military personnel perform diplomatic and civic as much as military functions.

Although general agreement existed in the Committee on the need for practical improvements, the divergence of views on the U.N.

authority to undertake operations involving military forces remained sharp. At the outset the Soviet Representative reiterated the "exclusive right" of the Security Council to take and implement decisions on the use of armed forces on behalf of the United Nations. Strictly speaking, he noted, all studies relating to peacekeeping should be undertaken by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, but he conceded that the Committee of 33 could undertake a preliminary study provided it was designed solely to assist the Security Council and Military Staff Committee in implementing chapter VII of the U.N. Charter. Both the Soviet and French Representatives stressed that any forces used by the United Nations must be made available to the Security Council under agreements concluded in accordance with article 43 of the Charter.

Several representatives noted the importance of dealing with the financial aspects of future peacekeeping, and also called for voluntary contributions to overcome the U.N. deficit.

On March 6 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador S. M. Finger, urged the Committee to persevere in its efforts to improve practical arrangements for peacekeeping operations undertaken with the consent of the parties involved and relying on the voluntary provision of forces and facilities. He pointed out that such improvement was essential irrespective of any progress on article 43 arrangements by which nations would agree to provide forces and facilities to the Security Council in support of enforcement actions under article 42. Any substantive discussion of article 43 arrangements would be for the Security Council, as stipulated in the Charter, and would be complementary to preparations for consent-type peacekeeping.

He suggested ways to improve the earmarking of personnel for U.N. service, enhance their effectiveness,

assure supplies and logistics, and strengthen the Secretary-General's staff for peacekeeping. For example, earmarking countries could increase their readiness through informal staff liaison, joint field exercises, and adopting uniform standards for training. Elaborating on this statement, the United States presented a written supplement on May 17.

Recalling an earlier understanding reached at the 22d Assembly, the United States also supported an Italian proposal to request the Secretariat to prepare documentation on the factual and technical aspects of past peacekeeping operations. Much of the Committee's deliberation during March and April concerned the terms of reference for and the limits on the Secretary-General's supplying such documentation.

The Working Group, as noted below, requested the Secretary-General to provide documentation on military observers established or authorized by the Security Council. The United States took the lead in pressing for documentation also on U.N. operations involving organized forces or contingents, as in Cyprus, but apart from agreeing in principle that other methods of U.N. peacekeeping should be considered later, the Committee took no action on this request.

Working Group

The Working Group approved "as a first model in its program of work a study of the United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Security Council resolutions." The terms of reference for the study included:

- (1) The strength and equipment of the group of observers; their recruitment and organization; facilities and services; financial questions;
- (2) The relationship between observers and the state or states on the

territory or territories of which they have to operate;

- (3) The status of observers; privileges and immunities; duration and termination of the mission of observers.

As a basis for this study, the Working Group requested the Secretary-General to compile the pertinent statements made in the Security Council and in the Committee, and to prepare a report containing all the documents and materials available in the Secretariat which refer to operations by military observers.

Secretary-General's Report

In September the Secretary-General submitted to the Working Group a two-volume draft report on U.N. observers. The first volume contained the statements made in the Security Council and the Committee of 33; the second described the organization and conduct of the following U.N. observer operations: Military Observer Missions in the Middle East (1948-), U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (1949-), U.N. India Pakistan Observation Mission (1965-66), U.N. Observation Group in Lebanon (1958), U.N. Yemen Observation Mission (1963-64), and Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic (1965-66). The timing and manner of circulating the Secretariat study became a bone of contention in the Working Group, so that apart from requesting supplementary material and a clarification of certain points the Working Group did not address itself to substance at all. The United States pressed for early completion of the observer study, and at least circulation of the Secretary-General's report during the General Assembly, even in a preliminary form. However, the Working Group was unable either to complete the study or to formulate conclusions and recommendations, and because a small minority would

not concur, the Secretary-General's report was not circulated.

Report to the General Assembly

The full Committee met in mid-December to adopt its report to the General Assembly.

On December 12 Ambassador Finger expressed U.S. disappointment that the results of the Committee's work fell "substantially short of our expectations." In particular he regretted that the Working Group had neither completed its study of observers nor formulated conclusions and recommendations. He urged that the documentation on observers, which the Secretary-General had provided, be circulated to all members; that the schedule of work be accelerated; and that the Secretary-General be requested for documentation on a study of U.N. experience involving organized peacekeeping forces.

The British and Canadian Representatives also expressed their regret at the slow pace and called for circulation of the Secretariat documentation. The Indian Representative observed that the Committee's work reflected a desire to avoid controversy and concentrate on points of agreement, and the Soviet Representative noted the Committee was "moving forward" and, on completion of the observer study, work could begin on other models. Several other delegations welcomed this indication of willingness to move forward, although in a limited area.

In its report to the General Assembly the Committee noted that it planned to submit the report on observers as soon as possible and not later than the 24th Assembly, and that "the Working Group of the Special Committee would also expect to proceed, when it deems it appropriate, to the study of other mutually acceptable models of peacekeeping operations, including documentation of a factual nature from the Secretary-General."

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The 23d Assembly's Special Political Committee considered U.N. peacekeeping operations at five meetings between December 16 and 18. The chairman of the Committee of 33 noted the lack of progress in solving the U.N. financial problem and the Committee's slow progress in general. While he did not advise changing the Committee of 33 membership now, he suggested this might be considered in the future so as to bring in new viewpoints. The Iranian Representative, with support from the United States and others, pressed for circulation of the material on observers prepared by the Secretariat which had been referred to in the Committee of 33 reports. In the end, the Chairman of the Special Political Committee recorded the understanding that as soon as the Secretary-General provided the additional material requested by the Working Group (expected by February 1969), the Committee of 33 would take appropriate steps to make this material available without delay to any interested delegation.

On December 16 the U.S. Representative reaffirmed certain basic principles essential for successful peacekeeping:

- (1) the United Nations must be able to deploy peacekeeping forces promptly;

- (2) no one nation should be able to frustrate peacekeeping operations properly initiated by an appropriate U.N. organ;

- (3) so far as possible expenses should be the financial responsibility of all;

- (4) the necessary men and facilities must be assured; and

- (5) the Secretary-General's role as executive head of the United Nations must be respected.

The absence of agreement on principles, however, underscored the need to persevere in efforts to take concrete, though limited, steps to

meet the practical requirements for successful U.N. peacekeeping.

He noted that the United States would cooperate with the Committee of 33, but affirmed that the Committee need not be the sole vehicle through which the United Nations could move forward on peacekeeping. Apart from improving the readiness of men and facilities, the United Nations could probe possibilities for better sharing of peacekeeping costs, for example, the establishment of a peacekeeping fund, and for strengthening the U.N. staff.

During the debate a number of other delegations also referred to the unsatisfactory financing arrangements for peacekeeping operations and to the need to overcome the U.N. deficit. In addition, a number of delegations called for studies of forces to be made available to the Security Council under article 43.

On December 18 the Special Political Committee adopted by a vote of 85 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, a resolution requesting the Committee of 33 to continue its work on facilities, services, and personnel, and submit not later than the 24th General Assembly a comprehensive report on U.N. military observers as well as "a progress report on such work as the Special Committee may be able to undertake on any other models of peacekeeping operations." The next day the plenary adopted the resolution by a vote of 101 (U.S.) to 2, with 3 abstentions.

Membership

Three new states were admitted to the United Nations in 1968, bringing its membership to 126.

MAURITIUS

The British Crown Colony of Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean with a population comprised

of Indians, Africans, Europeans, and Chinese, became independent on March 12, 1968, in agreement with the United Kingdom. That same day it applied for U.N. membership. The Security Council considered its application the following month on April 18 and unanimously adopted a resolution, cosponsored by Algeria, Canada, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Senegal, and the United Kingdom, recommending to the General Assembly that Mauritius be admitted to membership. The Assembly on April 24, at its resumed 22d session, accepted this recommendation by acclamation.

Speaking in the Security Council in support of the Mauritian application, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Richard F. Pedersen, after paying tribute to the roles of both the Mauritian authorities and the British Government in bringing the island to full independence, said:

My Government is well aware of the many obstacles Mauritius has overcome, and of those that it still faces, in its praiseworthy drive to build a nation where man's dignity and worth are not determined by his race, his religion, or his place of origin. In its efforts Mauritius will be taking part in a worldwide crusade toward the achievement of equal rights and opportunities for all.

He expressed the conviction that "Mauritius can and will make continuing and meaningful contributions toward solving the problems that lie before it and before us all."

SWAZILAND

Swaziland, the last of the three British High Commission Territories in southern Africa, attained independence, in agreement with the United Kingdom, on September 6, 1968, and applied that day for U.N. membership. Its application was considered on September 11 by the Security Council, which unanimously adopted a resolution, cosponsored by Algeria, Canada, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Senegal, and the United Kingdom, recom-

mending Swaziland's admission. The General Assembly accepted this recommendation by acclamation on the opening day of its 23d session, September 24.

Following the General Assembly's action, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador George W. Ball, congratulated both Swaziland and the United Kingdom, observing that Swaziland's accession to independence

. . . marked one further step in one of the greatest achievements of all history: the adventurous passage of about a billion people from colonial dependence to equal, independent and self-respecting status in the family of nations—achieved with relatively little bloodshed or social and economic dislocation, and all within the fantastically short time space of a quarter century.

With more specific reference to the newest U.N. member, he said:

As an independent nation, determined to advance the condition of her people and to make her own way in the world, Swaziland will not always find the road easy or progress without its costs and confusions. But her assets are ample to justify an encouraging prognosis: she can, first of all, count on the leadership of an enlightened Monarch, King Sobhuza; the talents of a gifted people with a will to progress; a rich endowment of natural resources; and a continuing fruitful relationship with the United Kingdom. And, I am sure, another important asset will prove to be the good will and friendship which Swaziland will find among the members of the United Nations.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Following a referendum and elections, the region of Spanish Equatorial Guinea, embodying the two provinces of Fernando Póo and Río Muni, became independent in agreement with Spain on October 12, 1968, as the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. The former province of Fernando Póo includes the island of Fernando Po, the adjacent islets, and the island of Annobón; the former province of Río Muni includes territory on the west coast of Africa, the islands of Corisco, Elobey

Grande, and Elobey Chico, and the adjacent islets. The new state applied for U.N. membership on October 25, and on November 6 the Security Council recommended its admission, unanimously adopting a resolution to this effect cosponsored by Algeria, Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, and Senegal. One month to the day after it became independent, Equatorial Guinea was admitted to U.N. membership by acclamation of the General Assembly.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Wiggins, speaking in the Security Council, stated that the United States "wholeheartedly" endorsed the application of Equatorial Guinea and had watched "with interest" its progress and particularly the ability displayed by its leaders during recent years. Equatorial Guinea's application, he noted, was "of particular importance to the United Nations," because a U.N. Visiting Mission and U.N. observers for the recent elections and referendum had "played a significant role in the process by which Equatorial Guinea achieved its independent status." The Ambassador also complimented the Spanish Government "for its recognition of and adherence to the principle of self-determination as expressed in the United Nations Charter and for its guidance of Equatorial Guinea through a peaceful process of decolonization."

(See Part III, p. 178 for U.N. consideration of these territories before their independence.)

Chinese Representation

During 1968, as in previous years, some nations that recognized Communist China attempted to expel the representatives of the Republic of China from the General Assembly and other forums of the United Nations and to replace them with representatives of Communist China. A majority of other U.N. members,

including the United States, defeated these challenges and preserved the position of the Republic of China in the United Nations.

23D GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The major challenge on Chinese representation arose in the General Assembly. A week before the convening of the 23d regular session on September 24, 11 nations (Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Romania, Southern Yemen, and Syria) submitted a request for the inclusion of an item on the agenda of the session entitled: "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." The explanatory memorandum accompanying the request reiterated the usual arguments of this group that the refusal to "restore" Communist China's "lawful rights" constituted a "grave denial of justice," was inconsistent with the principle of universality, discriminated against a country of 700 million people which had demonstrated its desire for peace, and was "unrealistic and dangerous, because it is recognized that no important international problem can be solved without the participation of that country." The memorandum concluded that "the recognition of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations is absolutely and urgently necessary in order to strengthen the authority and prestige of the Organization" and stated that this implied "the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek's clique"

The United States, consistent with its position each year since 1961, did not oppose the inscription of this item, although Ambassador Buffum commented that he had doubts about the utility of another debate on this subject in 1968. The Assembly's

General Committee on September 25 decided to recommend to the General Assembly the inclusion of the item on its agenda, and the Assembly accepted the Committee's recommendation without discussion or vote on September 27.

On October 29 Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Japan, Malagasy Republic, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Philippines, Thailand, Togo, and the United States (joined later by Italy) submitted a draft resolution, similar to that adopted at previous sessions, which reaffirmed the decision of the Assembly in 1961 that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question under article 18 of the U.N. Charter (i.e., required a two-thirds majority for adoption).

On November 7 the same countries that had requested the inscription of the "Restoration of the Lawful Rights . . ." item on the agenda, plus Pakistan, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zambia (joined later by Yemen), submitted a draft resolution identical to one rejected by the Assembly in 1967 which would "restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China," recognize its representatives as "the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations," and expel "the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek."

On November 11, the day the debate on the question opened in plenary, Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Italy, and Luxembourg submitted a draft resolution identical to one submitted by Belgium, Chile, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands the year before (which was rejected by the Assembly) calling for the establishment of a committee to study the Chinese representation question "in order to make the appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly at its Twenty-fourth session for an equitable and practical solution to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, in keeping with

the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

With these three resolutions before the Assembly, the stage was thus set along lines almost identical to those of the previous 2 years as the debate on the question progressed from November 11 to 19.

U.S. Position

Ambassador Wiggins set forth the U.S. position on the question in a statement made in plenary on November 12. Discussing each of the three resolutions in turn, he urged the Assembly once again to reaffirm the important question principle and to reject the far-reaching and unacceptable proposals of the Albanian resolution. He stated that the United States would again vote in favor of the study-committee resolution because it "did not in any way pre-judge the outcome of the proposed study."

In urging adoption of the important question resolution, Ambassador Wiggins stressed that "a proposal to change the representation of any state which is a member of this organization carries enormous political consequences." Referring specifically to Chinese representation, he said the question had "important political consequences for all members; an important bearing on the future work and effectiveness of the United Nations; and important implications for international peace and security, particularly in East Asia." He continued:

Every member of the General Assembly has an equal and continuing interest in faithful adherence to the broad rules on which the orderly transaction of our business depends. . . . A General Assembly capable of impulsively and irrevocably altering the representation of one of its members by a vote of one half plus one would be an Assembly in which the sovereignty and membership of many nations could be put in jeopardy.

Ambassador Wiggins scored the Albanian resolution particularly for its proposal to expel the Republic of China, a charter member whose

"record of conformity with the Charter and of active cooperation in the constructive work of the United Nations bears comparison with that of any member state." Citing in contrast Peking's actions and policies which had demonstrated its bitter hostility toward and contempt for the United Nations, Ambassador Wiggins concluded that "it is impossible to argue persuasively that the participation of Peking in the United Nations at this juncture would contribute to the cause of peace or to the work of this organization."

Assembly Action

During 13 plenary meetings 64 delegations presented their views before the Assembly voted on the three resolutions on November 19. The 14-power "important question" resolution was adopted by a larger favorable vote than it had ever previously obtained: 73 in favor, with 47 opposed and 5 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Argentina	Ireland
Australia	Israel
Belgium	Italy
Bolivia	Ivory Coast
Botswana	Jamaica
Brazil	Japan
Cameroon	Jordan
Canada	Laos
Central African Republic	Lebanon
Chad	Lesotho
Chile	Liberia
China	Libya
Colombia	Luxembourg
Congo(Kinshasa)	Malagasy Republic
Costa Rica	Malawi
Cyprus	Malaysia
Dahomey	Maldives Islands
Dominican Republic	Malta
El Salvador	Mauritius
Equatorial Guinea	Mexico
Gabon	Netherlands
The Gambia	New Zealand
Greece	Nicaragua
Guatemala	Niger
Guyana	Panama
Haiti	Paraguay
Honduras	Peru
Iceland	Philippines
Iran	Rwanda
	Saudi Arabia
	Senegal

Sierra Leone	Turkey
South Africa	United Kingdom
Spain	United States
Swaziland	Upper Volta
Thailand	Uruguay
Togo	Venezuela
Trinidad and Tobago	

Those opposed were:

Afghanistan	Mauritania
Albania	Mongolia
Algeria	Nepal
Bulgaria	Nigeria
Burma	Norway
Burundi	Pakistan
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Poland
Cambodia	Romania
Ceylon	Singapore
Congo (Brazzaville)	Somalia
Cuba	Southern Yemen
Czechoslovakia	Sudan
Denmark	Sweden
Ethiopia	Syria
Finland	Tanzania
France	Tunisia
Ghana	Uganda
Guinea	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Hungary	U.S.S.R.
India	U.A.R.
Iraq	Yemen
Kenya	Yugoslavia
Kuwait	Zambia
Mali	

Those abstaining were:

Austria	Morocco
Barbados	Portugal
Ecuador	

Indonesia was absent.

The 16-power resolution to replace representatives of the Republic of China with those of Peking was then defeated by a vote of 44 to 58, with 23 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan	Hungary
Albania	India
Algeria	Iraq
Bulgaria	Kenya
Burma	Mali
Burundi	Mauritania
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Mongolia
Cambodia	Morocco
Ceylon	Nepal
Congo (Brazzaville)	Norway
Cuba	Pakistan
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Denmark	Romania
Ethiopia	Somalia
Finland	Southern Yemen
France	Sudan
Guinea	Sweden

Syria	U.A.R.
Tanzania	United Kingdom
Uganda	Yemen
Ukrainian S.S.R.	Yugoslavia
U.S.S.R.	Zambia

Those opposed were:

Argentina	Japan
Australia	Jordan
Barbados	Lesotho
Belgium	Liberia
Bolivia	Luxembourg
Botswana	Malagasy Republic
Brazil	Malawi
Cameroon	Malaysia
Central African Republic	Malta
Chad	Mexico
Chile	New Zealand
China	Nicaragua
Colombia	Niger
Congo (Kinshasa)	Panama
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Dahomey	Peru
Dominican Republic	Philippines
El Salvador	Rwanda
Gabon	Saudi Arabia
The Gambia	Sierra Leone
Greece	South Africa
Guatemala	Spain
Haiti	Swaziland
Honduras	Thailand
Ireland	Togo
Israel	Turkey
Italy	United States
Ivory Coast	Upper Volta
	Uruguay
	Venezuela

Those abstaining were:

Austria	Lebanon
Canada	Libya
Cyprus	Maldiv Islands
Ecuador	Mauritius
Equatorial Guinea	Netherlands
Ghana	Nigeria
Guyana	Portugal
Iceland	Senegal
Iran	Singapore
Jamaica	Trinidad and Tobago
Kuwait	Tunisia
Laos	

Indonesia was absent.

Prior to the vote on the "study committee" resolution, Cambodia introduced a motion that a two-thirds majority be required for its adoption, i.e., that the important question procedure be applied. The Cambodian motion was adopted by a vote of 63 to 32, with 29 abstentions. The United States voted against this motion, as it had on

similar motions in the previous 2 years, on the basis that the establishment of a committee simply to study and make recommendations on a matter was a procedural question. The five-power "study committee" resolution was then rejected by a vote of 30 to 67, with 27 abstentions.

Voting in favor were:

Barbados	Laos
Belgium	Lebanon
Brazil	Luxembourg
Chile	Maldives Islands
Colombia	Mauritius
Cyprus	Mexico
Ecuador	Netherlands
Guatemala	New Zealand
Haiti	Sierra Leone
Iceland	Spain
Ireland	Tunisia
Israel	Turkey
Italy	United States
Jamaica	Uruguay
Japan	Venezuela

Opposed were:

Afghanistan	Ivory Coast
Albania	Jordan
Algeria	Kenya
Australia	Kuwait
Botswana	Lesotho
Bulgaria	Malawi
Burma	Mali
Burundi	Mauritania
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Mongolia
Cambodia	Nepal
Cameroon	Niger
Central African Republic	Nigeria
Ceylon	Pakistan
Chad	Paraguay
China	Philippines
Congo (Brazzaville)	Poland
Congo (Kinshasa)	Romania
Cuba	Rwanda
Czechoslovakia	Singapore
Dahomey	South Africa
Denmark	Southern Yemen
Dominican Republic	Sudan
El Salvador	Sweden
Ethiopia	Syria
Finland	Tanzania
France	Thailand
The Gambia	Uganda
Ghana	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Guinea	U.S.S.R.
Honduras	U.A.R.
Hungary	Upper Volta
India	Yemen
Iraq	Yugoslavia
	Zambia

Abstaining were:

Argentina	Malta
Austria	Morocco
Bolivia	Nicaragua
Canada	Norway
Costa Rica	Panama
Equatorial Guinea	Peru
Gabon	Portugal
Greece	Saudi Arabia
Guyana	Senegal
Iran	Swaziland
Liberia	Togo
Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Malagasy Republic	United Kingdom
Malaysia	

Indonesia and Somalia were absent.

The Chinese representation question was also raised in the Assembly's Credentials Committee on December 19. The usual Soviet motion which would declare invalid the credentials of "persons calling themselves the representatives of the Republic of China" was defeated by a vote of 3 (Mongolia, Tanzania, U.S.S.R.) to 5 (Brazil, Costa Rica, Liberia, New Zealand, United States), with Austria abstaining. The Committee then accepted the credentials of all the representatives to the 23d General Assembly by a vote of 6 to 1, with 2 abstentions. (The credentials of South Africa were also an issue at this meeting.) The plenary adopted the report of the Credentials Committee on December 21 by a vote of 82 (U.S.) to 0, with 24 abstentions.

SECURITY COUNCIL

At the first meeting in 1968 of the Security Council (whose nonpermanent membership had just changed to include Algeria, Hungary, Pakistan, Paraguay, and Senegal, replacing Argentina, Bulgaria, Japan, Mali, and Nigeria) the Algerian Representative raised the question whether reports circulated by the Secretary-General finding members' credentials in order constituted tacit approval by the Council of those credentials stating that, in the opinion of his delegation, explicit ap-

proval of a report is required if any objection is put forward concerning it. While no reference was made specifically to Chinese or any other individual member's credentials, the Algerian move was widely interpreted as seeking to have the Council explicitly rather than tacitly approve credentials, with the Chinese credentials as the target. The President of the Council responded that he would request the Secretary-General to prepare a report on past practice in the Council on this subject. Following brief statements by France and the Soviet Union in support of the Algerian position, the Council proceeded to the business on its agenda.

The report of the Secretary-General, dated January 26, stated *inter alia* that since 1948 the reports of the Secretary-General on credentials of representatives to the Council have not appeared on the provisional agenda; instead they have been circulated to all delegations on the Council and, in the absence of any request that they be considered by the Council, have been considered approved without objection.

In order to avoid delay in considering the question of South-West Africa in the next meeting of the Security Council on February 16,

prior agreement was reached through informal consultations that the Secretary-General's report would not be considered. At the outset of the meeting, as further agreed, the Algerian Representative reaffirmed his position that he wished and expected the credentials question to be taken up by the Council in the future and the Security Council President responded with a statement that "the representative of Algeria, as any other member of the Council, has a standing right, in accordance with the rules of procedure, to request consideration of any question." The statement established that the matter was not then before the Council, but left open the possibility that it could be raised at a future meeting.

The issue did not arise again during 1968.

OTHER U.N. BODIES

Challenges to the representation of the Republic of China were successfully met when raised in other U.N. bodies and the representatives of the Republic of China continued to sit throughout 1968 in all U.N. organizations and related agencies of which China is a member.

*Cooperation in the
Economic, Social,
Scientific, and
Human Rights
Fields*

Part Two

Second Development Decade

Interest in preparations for the Second U.N. Development Decade increased markedly in 1968.

The 16th General Assembly declared the 1960's the first U.N. Development Decade as the result of a U.S. initiative. The goals set were extremely general, and no effort was made to coordinate the development policies of member states and the organizations of the U.N. system until much later in the period. However, the potential of the concept was widely recognized, lessons were learned, and detailed preparations for declaring the 1970's a Second U.N. Development Decade were begun well in advance.

During 1968 preparations for the Decade proceeded in various ways.

First, the Committee for Development Planning continued its technical work on the economic projections that will underlie the strategy for the Decade.

Second, ECOSOC, UNCTAD, and the General Assembly considered ways in which policies might be established for the Decade.

Third, various proposals were made for launching the Decade.

Fourth, some consideration began to be given to the necessity for a review and evaluation procedure to assess the progress of the Decade.

Fifth, the General Assembly established a Preparatory Committee to assume responsibility for the Second Decade.

Committee for Development Planning

The Committee for Development Planning is composed of 18 experts, serving in their individual capacities, who are appointed by ECOSOC for 3-year terms. Dr. Max Millikan of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is one of the members.

At its May meeting the Committee decided to circulate the following documents to organizations in the U.N. system for their comments and suggestions:

(1) A preliminary sketch of the international strategy for development in the 1970's.

(2) A paper on quantitative implications of alternative rates of economic growth of developing countries in the coming decade and a comparative analysis of the available studies that are relevant to this subject.

(3) A list of specific questions ad-

addressed to each of the organizations, taking into account the area of competence of the organization concerned.

(4) A timetable for the completion by the organizations of various stages of work on the guidelines and proposals for the Second U.N. Development Decade. The proposed timetable called for the Decade to begin on January 1, 1971.

Policy Preparations

As the extent, detailed nature, and generally excellent quality of the work of the Committee for Development Planning became evident, and particularly as the implications for both developed and developing countries of the growth rates projected by the Committee became clearer, there was growing recognition of the need to secure the views of governments and to prepare policy recommendations to guide the course of the Decade. The 45th session of ECOSOC, meeting in Geneva in the summer, requested the U.N. Secretary-General to submit the preliminary outline of an international development strategy for the 1970's and other documents to its Economic Committee (a committee of the whole). It also asked him to forward to member states for their comments the preliminary outline of a development strategy and the paper on the implications of alternate rates of growth of less developed countries in the 1970's. Finally, it instructed its Economic Committee to discuss the comments of governments and organizations in the U.N. system, to offer "appropriate advice" to the Committee for Development Planning, to formulate an outline of an international development policy incorporating concerted action by member states, and to make suggestions on the method and means for its evaluation and implementation. ECOSOC decided that its

Economic Committee should meet intersessionally to carry out this assignment and agreed to consider at its 47th session (summer 1969) the strategy for development prepared by the Committee for Development Planning and the international development policies prepared by the Economic Committee.

Action by Other Organizations

The significance of the work of the Committee for Development Planning and the lack of policy guidance for the Decade was not lost on other organizations in the U.N. system. Several of them began to consider ways in which they should prepare for the Decade, and what their role in the Decade might be. The most significant activity of this kind took place at the seventh session of the Trade and Development Board (the permanent organ of UNCTAD) held in Geneva in September. The Board recognized that most of the matters within the scope of UNCTAD were central to the Decade, although it also recognized that there were many matters of importance to the Decade that were not within UNCTAD's terms of reference. The Board decided to convoke an intergovernmental group, composed of those members of UNCTAD that wished to share in the preparations for the Decade, to discuss UNCTAD's role. In part because of the action of the General Assembly (see below) and in part because preparations for the Decade were not sufficiently advanced to provide a clear indication of the kind of contribution that would be expected from organizations, this intergovernmental group did not meet before the end of 1968.

Other organizations of the U.N. system also gave some consideration to the establishment of special machinery to assist their preparations for the Decade. Most of them

decided, however, to use established machinery.

Review and Evaluation

Largely as the result of a paper prepared for the Committee for Development Planning by Dr. Millikan, there was a growing realization during 1968 by both organizations and governments of the need for a review and evaluation process by which the progress of the Decade might be assessed. It is expected that a discussion of possible mechanisms for such review and evaluation will be high on the agenda of all organizations concerned with the Decade in 1969.

General Assembly

The 23d General Assembly made significant progress in its preparation for declaring the 1970's the Second U.N. Development Decade.

On December 3 Pakistan introduced into the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 82 states, which designated the Economic Committee of ECOSOC as the "Preparatory Committee" for the Second U.N. Development Dec-

ade, but provided that the Committee, for this purpose, be doubled in size to 54, the additional members to be drawn from the same geographic areas as ECOSOC, and to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly from "States Members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies and of the International Atomic Energy Agency." This formula permits inclusion of such nonmembers of the United Nations as the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland and was included in the resolution at the behest of the developing countries which recognized the utility of associating such major economic powers and aid donors with preparations for the Decade. However, because this formula would permit the appointment of the Federal Republic to the Preparatory Committee, it was attacked by the Soviet Union which made an unsuccessful attempt to restrict membership in the Preparatory Committee to U.N. members. The draft resolution was approved by the Second Committee on December 9 by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 9, with no abstentions, and was adopted by the General Assembly on December 17 by a vote of 97 (U.S.) to 9, with 1 abstention.

The 27 additional members of the Committee had not been appointed by the end of 1968.

International Education Year

The purpose of the International Education Year, proposed by President Johnson in 1967 and endorsed by the 22d General Assembly, is to focus attention on the pressing need

to improve and extend education as an indispensable instrument for nation building and for establishing a more peaceful world. During 1968 the U.N. Secretary-General con-

sulted with UNESCO and other specialized agencies on planning for an international program.

In November the UNESCO General Conference agreed on eight objectives and four themes for the International Education Year which it authorized its Director General to propose to member states, the organizations of the U.N. system, and other governmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned.

The general themes suggested for the Year were: (1) educational technology (new methods and media), (2) life-long integrated education, (3) reconciliation in education of a spirit of tradition with a spirit of renewal, and (4) promotion of ethical principles in education with a view to promoting international understanding and peace.

The eight specific objectives were: (1) functional literacy for adults, (2) equal access of girls and women to education, (3) training of middle and higher level personnel for development, (4) democratization of secondary and higher education,

(5) transition from selection to guided choice in secondary and higher education, (6) adaptation of education to the needs of the modern world, especially in rural areas, (7) development of educational research, and (8) pre-service and in-service training of teachers.

UNESCO also authorized its Director General to assume primary responsibility for the preparation and execution of an international program for the Year.

On December 3 the United States introduced into the Second Committee a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 19 states, which endorsed the program outlined by the UNESCO General Conference and designated 1970 as International Education Year. The resolution also specifically recommended that member states take stock of their educational situation and take action to improve educational conditions. The Second Committee on December 4 and the Assembly on December 17 unanimously adopted the resolution.

Economic Cooperation

Economic Commission for Europe

ECE has 31 members—the European members of the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States; Switzerland is an observer. It was established immediately after the Second World War to revive the European economy and is the oldest of the four U.N. regional economic commissions. Since its establishment it has given primary attention to basic sectors of

the economy, and to fundamental problems of production, distribution, and trade in Europe. Now, 21 years later, almost all of its members have developed industrial economies and are beginning to experience many of the problems associated with industrialization, such as increasing pressures in the urban environment and pollution. At the same time, the rapidly increasing pace of technological innovation and management's efforts to adapt to this increasing pace have enhanced the interest of member governments in an exchange

of information on a widening range of topics.

The most significant development at the 23d ECE plenary, held in Geneva April 17–May 2, was the unanimous adoption of a resolution requesting the Executive Secretary to prepare a report on possible improvements in the long-term program of work; on necessary adjustments in the existing structure, methods of work, and calendar of meetings; and on the more effective organization of the annual session of the Commission. The intent behind the resolution was to husband the resources of the Commission in order to devote more attention to subjects of increasing importance.

During the year the Executive Secretary made a detailed examination of ECE's structure, which now has some 157 groups among its subsidiary bodies, and made specific proposals for reorganization to each of the standing committees as it met in the course of the year after the plenary. At the end of 1968 the Executive Secretary circulated a very detailed series of proposals for the reorganization of the Commission and for the adjustment of priorities in the work program.

The Executive Secretary of the Commission, Vladimir Velebit (Yugoslavia) retired during the year and was replaced by another Yugoslav, Janez Stanovnik, a distinguished lawyer and civil servant who combines a varied career in his own government with extensive U.N. experience.

ECE continued its work in a wide variety of fields in which economic and technical cooperation among its member states was significant. Among the most important of these were detailed consideration of the problems of shipping goods by container, the transport of dangerous and perishable goods, the standardization of agricultural products and various aspects of automotive construction and safety. The Commission undertook new work in the control of

air and water pollution and began to turn its attention to the role of science and technology in modern economic relations.

Because of its long experience in the field, ECE provided the secretariat for the U.N. Conference on Road Traffic, held in Vienna October 7–November 8. The success of the Conference, which drafted two conventions of very wide applicability—one on road traffic, the other on road signs and signals—is largely owing to the expertise provided by the ECE secretariat.

Further progress in facilitating East-West trade was unfortunately halted by the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968. The Committee on Development of Trade, which met shortly after the Czech crisis, was unable to do more than request the secretariat to make a number of studies bearing on the institutional differences between countries of different economic and social systems. It is significant, however, that at this meeting, as at other meetings following the Czech crisis, there was little mention either of the Czech invasion or of other political events such as the war in Viet-Nam.

As a measure of its continuing support for ECE, the United States, in the spring of 1968, hosted in Washington a joint meeting of the Commission's working groups on electronic data processing and censuses. The U.S. steel industry also pressed ahead with its plans to conduct a study tour of the American steel industry for ECE members in 1969.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

ECAFE, with 27 members and 3 associate members, has a geographical scope extending from Iran to Western Samoa, including Australia

and New Zealand. The United States participates as one of five non-regional members (France, Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) that joined the Commission at its inception in 1947 to help promote the reconstruction and economic development of postwar Asia.

During recent years ECAFE has changed the emphasis of its activities from study and research to operations, particularly through programs of regional cooperation. Its efforts and initiatives have been in large measure responsible for the creation of several important institutions of regional cooperation, such as the Mekong Committee, the Asian Development Bank, the Asian Industrial Development Council, and the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning. In 1968 the Commission continued to carry out its programs in the fields of trade promotion, typhoon warning, and population and family planning.

The United States took part in all major ECAFE meetings during the year, including the Commission's 24th plenary session in Canberra, April 17-30, and the annual meetings of its standing committees on trade, industry and natural resources, and transport and communications. Other meetings in which the United States participated dealt with typhoons, statistics, electric power, port operations, offshore prospecting for minerals, geology, and water resources development. In addition the United States contributed to the second 5-year budget of the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, and, through the U.N. Population Fund, to the first-year budget of an expanded ECAFE population program. Other U.S. assistance to ECAFE during the year included providing the services of experts and advisers in various fields such as data processing, water resources development, inland waterway statistics, highway engineering, hydraulic structure design, and offshore minerals prospecting.

The United States continued to contribute to the program of the Committee for the Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin. This Committee has under way plans for several projects which if implemented could transform the Basin into one of the greatest power- and food-producing regions of the world. Toward this end the United States provided computer facilities and the services of a water resources adviser and a private resources development firm to assist the Mekong Committee in the preparation of a first draft of an Amplified Mekong Basin Development Plan.

The United States supported a number of other Committee activities as well. During 1968 the feasibility investigations of the Pa Mong multipurpose dam project were accelerated and an interim report indicating the feasibility of a first-stage project was completed. Two transportation feasibility studies were also completed, one on cargo handling and river port facilities along the Mekong in Laos and Thailand and the other on a bridge spanning the Mekong in Viet-Nam; and a resource atlas of the natural and human resources in the Basin was published after 3 years of preparatory work. Study began on a proposal to control floods and increase agricultural productivity in the Viet-Nam delta through extensive diking. Construction began on the \$31 million Nam Ngum Dam in Laos toward which the United States contributed \$12 million in 1965 and an additional \$3.5 million in 1968 to meet its share of increased costs.

Economic Commission for Latin America

ECLA's Committee of the Whole, which met in Santiago, Chile, April 23-25, began its work with a special meeting to commemorate the 20th

anniversary of the Commission. As part of this commemoration the U.S. delegation read a special message from President Johnson stressing the importance of the Meeting of American Chiefs of State which had been held in Punta del Este in April 1967, and congratulating ECLA on its contribution to the achievement of their common aims.

Because ECLA did not hold a plenary session in 1968, the meeting of the Committee of the Whole was the most important of the year. The Committee reviewed the economic and social situation in Latin America; reviewed trade and commodity problems; considered the progress of the Latin American integration movement, mainly in the context of the problems of the relatively less developed countries and the Central American Economic Integration Program; and heard and considered reports on the ongoing activities of the Commission. The West Indies Associated States were admitted as a single associate member of the Commission.

During 1968 ECLA organized a Regional Inter-Agency Meeting on Community Development, a seminar on Administrative Aspects of Plan Implementation, and a meeting on Central American Electric Utilities, and, for the first time, cosponsored the Regional FAO Conference for Latin America. This conference adopted several resolutions designed to strengthen the ties between FAO and ECLA and the cooperative programs in agriculture, including agricultural trade. ECLA continued to cooperate with the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES) through the joint ECLA-ILPES industrial division.

ECLA's major efforts were devoted to carrying forward the work program laid down by the Commission at its 12th plenary session in 1967. In addition to such regular activities as the preparation of the *Economic Survey of Latin America* and the *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, and the

compilation and analysis of statistical series, this included preparatory work for the second session of UNCTAD (see p. 81) and cooperation in a variety of regional and subregional integration activities.

ECLA continued its work on studies of income distribution, economic policy, and the employment of human resources, and made notable progress in the formulation and analysis of economic projects. In other fields it continued its research on water resources, petroleum, mining, transport facilities, and freight rates and began to concentrate more of its attention on social studies, particularly with respect to structural changes, urban development, demographic trends, and certain policy and planning programs.

Economic Commission for Africa

Although not a member of ECA, the United States continued to give active support and encouragement to its program and activities and to maintain a full-time liaison office in Addis Ababa. The United States also attended the more important ECA meetings as an observer and provided technical experts upon request.

ECA's activities during the year were guided by the work program, approved at the 1967 biennial plenary session, which emphasized the promotion of economic cooperation within the subregions of East, West, Central, and North Africa. As part of its regular program the ECA secretariat organized a considerable number of training courses, seminars, and study tours, in most cases on a subregional basis.

Major meetings organized by the Commission during the year included the Conference on Industry and Finance; the Working Party on Manpower and Training; and a

Regional Meeting on Youth, Employment, and National Development. Other regional meetings were held on such subjects as new metals and minerals, public enterprise management, census questions, meteorological services, personnel administration, and house building costs. In addition to sending observers to several of these meetings, the United States in a number of instances provided the services of expert consultants to assist the secretariat, including, early in 1968, a full-time consultant to help develop regional and subregional plans in the field of agriculture.

U.N. Development Program

ORGANIZATION

As a result of the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly in 1965 of a resolution entitled "Mobilizing for Progress," the UNDP was formed by the merger of two existing economic development assistance programs: the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (established in 1950) and the Special Fund (established in 1959). The UNDP has grown steadily to its present role as the major source of U.N. technical assistance.

The UNDP responds to requests of member states for preinvestment assistance designed to provide the necessary basis for the attraction of investment capital. Three- to 5-year projects in the fields of agriculture, education, transportation, and resource inventories are typical of the kinds of work performed by the UNDP. In addition, the UNDP undertakes smaller projects, usually without any provision of equipment, designed either to train nationals by means of fellowships or to provide the required expertise by means of advisers.

The present Administrator of the UNDP, which has its headquarters in New York, is an American, Paul

Hoffman. In 1968 the Secretary-General reappointed him to this office for a 2-year term to begin on January 1, 1969. At the time of Mr. Hoffman's reappointment, the UNDP's top-level structure was realigned to fit into the standard U.N. pattern by abolishing the position of Co-Administrator and replacing it with the position of Deputy Administrator. The Deputy Administrator is the former Co-Administrator, David Owen, a British national.

The 37-nation Governing Council meets twice a year (January and June) to establish policies and approve the programs presented to it by the Administrator. Because it is entrusted with the supervision of all U.N. technical cooperation activities, the Governing Council also reviews the program of technical assistance under the U.N. regular budget.

The General Assembly resolution creating the UNDP also established an Inter-Agency Consultative Board (IACB) to provide consultative participation in the decision- and policy-making process by the U.N. specialized agencies and other U.N.-affiliated organizations that carry out UNDP projects. The IACB is composed of the U.N. Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies, the IAEA, UNICEF, UNIDO, UNCTAD, and the World Food Program. To fulfill one of its major functions, the IACB generally meets prior to each Governing Council session to determine which agencies should carry out the various projects to be presented to the Governing Council.

ROLE OF RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE

A key element in the UNDP operation is the field representative. Eighty-seven resident representatives are now established in countries where the UNDP has programs. The representative serves as an adviser to the host government on U.N. assistance and coordinates the operations of the

UNDP-financed programs within the country under his jurisdiction.

FINANCING

The UNDP is financed by voluntary contributions from member states. During 1968 pledges by 102 governments totaled \$183.4 million; in addition, assisted governments contributed \$16.5 million for local costs of projects. The United States pledged \$75 million subject to the condition that the U.S. contribution should not exceed 40% of the total governmental contributions, including local costs. The U.S. Representative stated that the Administrator could allocate the money between the preinvestment and technical assistance components in accordance with their relative needs.

PREINVESTMENT

The largest projects mounted by the UNDP are in the preinvestment (Special Fund) component. All states that are members of the United Nations, specialized agencies, or IAEA are eligible for assistance, and their requests are forwarded through the resident representative to the UNDP. The UNDP considers each project in consultation with the country concerned, the specialized agency that will carry out the project, and the resident representative. The IACB advises the UNDP Administrator on the proposal, and the Administrator then submits the project request to the Governing Council for approval.

During 1968 the Governing Council approved 151 preinvestment projects, raising the cumulative total of such projects approved by the UNDP to 925. These 925 projects call for UNDP earmarkings of \$908.7 million as well as \$1,317.5 million in counter-part contributions (in cash and kind) from local recipient governments for a total of \$2,226.2 million.

Some 40% of these projects (377) involve surveys of natural resources and/or feasibility studies, 330 are

for technical education and training, 197 for applied research, and 21 for economic development planning. By geographic region the 925 projects are allotted as follows: Africa, 338; the Americas, 223; Asia and the Far East, 233; Middle East, 67; Europe, 63; and Inter-Regional, 1.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The UNDP technical assistance program for the 1967-68 biennium (approved in November 1966) called for an estimated expenditure of \$110.7 million.

As compared to the 1965-66 biennium, projects in agriculture, industry, public utilities, housing, and education increased in number, while those in public health, social welfare, and public administration declined.

Adoption in 1967 of new programming procedures for the technical assistance component of the UNDP paved the way for the development in 1968 of new arrangements to expedite the planning, approval, and implementation of technical assistance in the years to come.

One notable feature of the new procedures is the abandonment of the "biennium" approach in favor of continuous programming. It is now possible for developing countries to plan for technical assistance projects of a duration of up to 4 years, although expenditures will be determined on the basis of annual targets for each country. During 1968 the UNDP headquarters staff began processing and approving project requests for the period 1969-1972.

At its sixth session, June 1968, the Governing Council revised its procedures for approving regional and interregional projects. Among other things, the practice of allotting funds for these projects on a proportional basis among the specialized agencies was eliminated. In the future groups of countries will join together to request these programs under a system similar to that used

in country programing. Because of the administrative and financial problems involved, a transition period will be allowed for the implementation of these procedures.

CAPACITY STUDY

In June 1966 the Governing Council had asked the Administrator to undertake a study of the administrative capacity of the UNDP to handle a greatly enlarged program. In view of the Administrator's opinion that the program should double its present size, concern was expressed that the UNDP and, more importantly, the executing agencies might have to adapt their structure and methods to undertake such an increased burden. The Council discussed a progress report by the Administrator at both its fifth and sixth sessions. At the sixth session, in addition, the Council agreed to terms of reference which spelled out in more detail the limits for the study and defined the role of experts to be consulted on a regular basis at different stages in its preparation. The experts were to be chosen from countries of different social and economic systems, with special attention to developing countries.

U.N. REGULAR PROGRAM

The Regular Program of Technical Assistance complements the activities of the UNDP and is a major source of funds for financing assistance in the fields of social development, public administration, human rights, and narcotics control. Financed through the U.N.-assessed budget, the Regular Program had remained at the level of \$6.4 million since 1962. For 1968 the Regular Program funds were divided into four sections: the first for economic development, social development, and public administration (\$5,113,600); the second for industrial development (\$991,400); the third for

human rights advisory services (\$220,000); and the fourth for narcotic drugs control (\$75,000).

In January 1968 the fifth session of the Governing Council discussed the question of raising the \$6.4 million figure, but did not reach a consensus on a revised planning level for 1969. As a result, it recommended maintaining the \$6.4 million planning figure on a provisional basis pending action by other U.N. bodies. It also requested the U.N. Secretary-General to submit to its seventh session (January 1969) a comprehensive study of the purposes of the regular program and its relationship to the program of the UNDP.

The 22d General Assembly had transferred from the Governing Council of the UNDP to the Industrial Development Board (IDB) of UNIDO the responsibility for reviewing and approving the projects in industrial development financed from the Regular Program budget. Exercising this responsibility the IDB recommended at its 2d session (April-May 1968) an appropriation of \$1.5 million in 1969 for Regular Program projects in industrial development. This represented an increase of approximately \$500,000 over the amount budgeted for these programs in 1968.

At its sixth session, in June, the UNDP Governing Council further debated the issue of increasing the Regular Program. On a U.S. motion, the Council voted to put off the discussion until January 1969 when its seventh session would have the Secretary-General's review.

Because neither the sixth session of the Governing Council nor the 45th session of ECOSOC (July-August 1968) acted with respect to this portion of the U.N. budget, the 23d General Assembly was faced with resolving the contradiction between the \$6.4 million "provisional" planning figure of the UNDP Governing Council and the increases recommended by the IDB which

would push the Regular Program to \$6.9 million. In discussions in both the Second and Fifth Committees, the U.S. delegation tried to maintain the \$6.4 million level. Nevertheless, on November 14 the Second Committee voted 50 to 0, with 20 abstentions (U.S.), to approve the \$1.5 million planning level for industrial development programs in 1969. This was confirmed by the General Assembly on December 17 by a vote of 81 to 1, with 17 abstentions, and the budget for 1969 (adopted December 21) provided \$6,908,600 for the Regular Program—\$5,113,600 for economic development, social development, and public administration; \$1,500,000 for industrial development; \$220,000 for human rights advisory services; and \$75,000 for narcotic drugs control.

U.N. Conference on Trade and Development

The second U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD II) took place in New Delhi February 1–March 29. In addition, the Trade and Development Board (the permanent organ of UNCTAD) held two sessions; and the Committee on Commodities, the Committee on Manufactures, and the Special Committee on Preferences each held one session. Established as an organ of the General Assembly in December 1964, UNCTAD has since come to be considered the principal forum in which the divergent views of the economic “haves” and “have nots” are brought into focus.

UNCTAD II

UNCTAD II was attended by representatives of 121 member states and numerous international organizations. The long agenda dealt

with many of the problems of economic development, and the Conference adopted 35 resolutions. One of the most important concerned a general nondiscriminatory system of tariff preferences for the developing countries. This resolution recorded unanimous agreement in favor of the early establishment of a system of generalized preferences for the developing countries, set forth the objectives of such a system, and established a Special Committee on Preferences to enable all the countries concerned to participate in the necessary consultations. The Special Committee was requested to hold its first meeting “in November 1968 to consider the progress made by that time.”

With respect to economic aid for the developing countries, there was general agreement that the volume of such aid should be greater and the Conference recommended that a reasonable target would be 1% of the gross national product of each economically advanced country. The Conference did not set a specific date for reaching this target, although it noted that the developing countries and some donor countries thought it should be achieved by 1972. The United States and most other major donors, however, were unable to accept any precise date.

In other resolutions UNCTAD made recommendations for study and action on a number of primary commodities (see p. 84) and called specifically for the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to increase their imports from the developing countries.

Other draft resolutions that were not adopted, either because of substantive disagreements or because of lack of time to work out fully acceptable texts, were referred to the Trade and Development Board and the standing committees of the Board for further action.

Near the end of the Conference, on March 27, UNCTAD adopted

by a roll-call vote of 49 to 18 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions, a resolution recommending that the General Assembly suspend South Africa from UNCTAD, "until it shall have terminated its policy of racial discrimination and until that fact has been duly confirmed by the General Assembly."

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The Board's 6th session, May 6-7, was devoted exclusively to administrative matters such as election of officers, elections to committees, and adoption of a preliminary agenda for the 7th session.

At its 7th session, September 2-23, the Board concentrated on ways to improve the machinery and methods of work of UNCTAD. This emphasis was in response to the developing countries' desire that UNCTAD be streamlined to allow it to deal more effectively with their economic problems. The Board unanimously adopted a decision which, *inter alia*, provided that at future sessions the Conference "concentrate on issues of fundamental importance," and called for greater cooperation and coordination between UNCTAD and GATT. In other unanimous actions the Board adopted a resolution recommending that the General Assembly give UNCTAD the status of a participating organization in the UNDP, and instructed its Committee on Shipping to create a working group on international shipping legislation. Over the objection of most of the developed countries, the Board adopted by a vote of 33 to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution inviting UNCTAD's Secretary General to convene an intergovernmental group to assist in the planning for the Second U.N. Development Decade. The United States and most other developed countries did not see the need for such an intergovernmental group since ECOSOC's Economic Committee had already been en-

trusted with the main coordinating role for the Decade (see p. 72). They saw the proposed UNCTAD group as an unnecessary duplication.

COMMITTEES

The Committee on Commodities devoted its third session, held in Geneva October 28-November 8, to trying to complete action on certain draft resolutions referred to it by UNCTAD II. Final texts were worked out for two of these—buffer stocks and diversification.

A subsidiary of this Committee, the Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes, met immediately preceding the Committee session, discussing primarily the situation with respect to rubber and cotton. It developed a set of policy recommendations for each of these two products aimed at improving its competitive position. It also briefly discussed mica and shellac and noted other products that it might appropriately study in the future, such as fats and oils, hard fibers, and jute. However, it left to the UNCTAD secretariat the decision on which products would be considered at the Group's next session. The need to avoid unnecessary duplication of the work of the various commodity study groups concerned with these products was stressed.

The third session of the Committee on Manufactures, held in Geneva, October 8-18, focused on the desirability of establishing a subgroup to consider nontariff barriers raised by developed countries against the exports of developing countries. The Committee also decided to request the UNCTAD secretariat to continue its studies of the export potential of developing countries, with special emphasis on the exports of the least developed.

The Special Committee on Preferences, established by UNCTAD II (see above, p. 81), held its first meeting in Geneva, November 29-December 6. The developed countries explained what they were doing in

the OECD to expand the area of agreement; the developing countries reaffirmed their hope that the details be settled in 1969 and the arrangements be implemented in 1970. The Committee agreed to meet again in April and June 1969 for a further review of progress.

The Intergovernmental Group on Supplementary Financial Measures, a small group established in 1966 by the Board's Committee on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade, held its fourth session in Geneva, October 21-25. At this session it continued its consideration of the IBRD staff proposal and other alternative arrangements for supplementary finance. The IBRD proposal, prepared in 1965 at UNCTAD's request, outlined a system to help developing countries cover unexpected shortfalls in export earnings that would result in insufficient resources to carry out sound development programs. The Group decided to address a list of questions concerning these proposals to the IMF, the IBRD, and the UNCTAD secretariat, and agreed to meet again in 1969 to consider the responses to its questions. On the basis of this information it would submit a final report to the Board for further action.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

During its discussion of its agenda item on UNCTAD, the 23d General Assembly considered reports on UNCTAD II and on the sixth and seventh sessions of the Trade and Development Board. On December 13 it adopted unanimously two resolutions proposed by its Second Committee. The first decided that UNCTAD should become a participating organization of the UNDP, and the second endorsed the decision of the Trade and Development Board to improve the institutional machinery and methods of work of the Conference. (See p. 58 for As-

sembly action on the UNCTAD recommendation to suspend South Africa.)

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

The GATT is an international agreement, to which all of the major trading nations of the free world are parties, whose purpose is to promote economic growth by eliminating barriers to expansion of world trade. It is the main forum in which the United States works with other nations to expand world trade.

The GATT consists of: (1) schedules of tariff concessions made by the contracting parties, and (2) agreed rules (which are binding legal obligations) designed to insure that international trade is conducted on a fair and equitable basis, and procedures for the application of these rules. It also provides a forum in which disputes regarding the application of these rules may be settled and in which the contracting parties can consult with each other on trade problems. A country which feels that the benefits it could reasonably expect under the GATT are being nullified or impaired by another contracting party can secure a multilateral examination of its problems and recommendations on their solution.

Although the GATT is not a part of the U.N. system, it cooperates closely with U.N. agencies in fields of joint interest. The principal U.N. agency operating in the trade policy field is UNCTAD. GATT and UNCTAD jointly operate a Trade Center to assist developing countries in their trade promotion efforts, and the secretariats of the two organizations cooperate in servicing the Trade Negotiations Committee of Developing Countries (see below).

Since the GATT entered into force on January 1, 1948, it has provided the framework for six rounds of general tariff negotiations. The last one was the Kennedy Round which came to a successful conclusion on June 30, 1967. Among the important results of the Kennedy Round were tariff cuts averaging 35% on a broad range of industrial products. These cuts are to be staged over a 4-year period. The European Communities, the United Kingdom, and several other countries made 40% of their scheduled cuts on July 1, 1968. Other countries, including the United States, made 20% of their cuts on January 1, 1968, and another 20% on January 1, 1969. All participants are scheduled to make another 20% cut on January 1, 1970.

The 25th session of the contracting parties to the GATT, held in November 1968, continued to build on the results of the Kennedy Round. The GATT's most important work during 1968 and in the immediate future is in three main fields: agriculture, nontariff barriers, and trade of developing countries.

Although the Kennedy Round achieved some concessions on agricultural items, it revealed a wide gulf between the views of the United States and those of the European Communities with respect to the expansion of trade in agricultural commodities. At the 25th session, the GATT Agriculture Committee reported that it had gathered the information on the contracting parties' policies affecting agricultural trade and production that was necessary to identify the problems. The next task was to seek mutually acceptable solutions. Progress is likely to be slow partly because of the basic differences in the philosophies of agricultural protection of the United States and the European Communities.

As the protective impact of tariffs has been reduced by successive negotiations over the years, greater atten-

tion has focused on nontariff devices as barriers to trade. During 1968 the Committee on Trade in Industrial Products compiled an inventory of such nontariff barriers to trade and began a study of the tariff situation as it will exist after the Kennedy Round cuts are fully in effect. The 25th session agreed that this Committee should explore possibilities for concrete actions to reduce or remove nontariff barriers and develop rules applicable to them. A GATT working party is presently examining GATT rules and practices regarding border adjustments for internal indirect taxes on products. Since the United States relies mainly on direct taxes for which border adjustments are not allowed under the GATT, it has been argued that U.S. products are at a disadvantage in international trade.

At the 25th session the contracting parties devoted a great deal of attention to such problems of the developing countries as trade in tropical products, import restrictions imposed by developed countries on products of particular interest to developing countries, and ways to expand trade among the developing countries. The developing countries had been generally dissatisfied with the results of the Kennedy Round, and those party to the GATT subsequently formed a Trade Negotiations Committee with a view to expanding trade among themselves. They reported to the 25th session that they had been exchanging pertinent information and hoped to be able to begin negotiations at an early date.

Commodity Trade

Intergovernmental cooperation on problems of trade, in particular primary commodities, is a specialized field in which the United Nations, FAO, GATT, and various

autonomous commodity councils and study groups all play a part. Since primary commodities are the chief source of export earnings for the developing countries, the U.N. functions in this field were delegated to UNCTAD upon creation of that body in 1964. This change gave the developing countries a considerable influence over international commodity activities, which they have tried to use to hasten action on their trade problems and decree its form. There has been some risk of serious interference by UNCTAD bodies in the activities of the many established organizations concerned with commodities, such as the FAO's Committee on Commodity Problems and its various study groups, or alternatively of the initiation of parallel activities by UNCTAD.

The events of 1968 suggest that a satisfactory resolution of this sensitive problem of interagency relationships may be evolving. A resolution entitled "International Action on Commodities," adopted unanimously by UNCTAD II, singles out 19 products for special attention, but avoids prejudgments on what type of action, if any, is appropriate, and leaves basic responsibility for following up on the recommendation with the specialized bodies concerned with these products, where such exists. The resolution gave priority status to cocoa and sugar—on which negotiations directed toward commodity agreements had been under way for some time—oilseeds and oils, rubber, hard fibers, and jute.

Another event having considerable potential importance for commodity activities was the release by the IMF and IBRD of a joint staff report reviewing the problems in this field and the types of measures that could help alleviate them. This is the first stage of a study of how these two financial institutions might give direct assistance in solving these problems. It was undertaken pursuant to a September 1967 request from the Governors of the two agencies and is

scheduled for completion in 1969. At the request of UNCTAD II the study will also consider, *inter alia*, the financing of buffer stocks and diversification.

COCOA

Early in the year it was generally assumed that a cocoa agreement could be easily concluded during 1968 in view of the progress made at the negotiating conference of November–December 1967. UNCTAD II recommended that the negotiating conference be reconvened by the end of June. However, the Secretary General of UNCTAD elected, instead, to schedule a June 1968 meeting of the Cocoa Consultative Group in the hope of getting agreement among the major producing and consuming countries on several important issues before reconvening the formal negotiating conference. A "package deal" was worked out on a number of contentious issues but was not accepted by one important producing country which maintained its reservation despite subsequent pressures to reconsider. Plans for resuming negotiations were accordingly laid aside. Cocoa prices had moved to very high levels and most producing countries evidently felt no sense of urgency about concluding an agreement.

SUGAR

By contrast, the prospects for completing negotiations of a sugar agreement appeared doubtful early in the year. There were wide differences over several basic issues which had not been resolved in the course of successive UNCTAD-sponsored meetings in 1967. However, on the theory that progress might only be made in the context of actual negotiations and in the face of strong pressure for relief from abnormally low prices, the UNCTAD Secretary General convened a negotiating conference in April–May 1968. This failed over three principal issues: (1) the alloca-

tion of quotas among the numerous exporting countries; (2) the conflict between an expansionist European Economic Community sugar production policy and a restrictive export quota system; and (3) the problem of controlling re-exports of Cuban sugar through the Soviet bloc.

Subsequently, UNCTAD's Secretary General met with the larger exporters and obtained agreement on a system of export quotas. He then reconvened the conference on September 23, although the quota proposal had not been approved by a large number of the smaller exporters and no progress had been made on other unresolved issues. The United States asked for a postponement on the grounds both that insufficient progress had been made on outstanding issues and that the timing of the resumed conference would not permit it to take the policy decisions necessary for its participation. The United States also made clear, however, that it would not object to resumption of the conference without its participation. The Secretary General, on the advice of the Sugar Consultative Group, decided to proceed without the United States. U.S. participation is not essential to the operation of the Agreement, which relates solely to "world market" sugar.

The fact that world market sugar prices had been exceedingly low for several years led the major sugar exporters, notably Australia, South Africa, and Cuba, to resolve their differences. On October 23 the text of the new agreement was approved for submission to governments for ratification. By the end of the year, although neither the United States nor the European Economic Community had yet indicated their intentions toward participation in the new Sugar Agreement, enough governments had signed and indicated their intention to ratify it to bring it into force provisionally on January 1, 1969.

RUBBER

With natural rubber prices in 1968 remaining at the extremely low levels reached in 1967, the producing countries continued to want UNCTAD, as well as the long-established independent International Rubber Study Group, to concern itself with their problems. The UNCTAD II resolution recognized the competence of the International Rubber Study Group in dealing with rubber trade problems, but it also charged UNCTAD's Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes with keeping a watch on the situation and considering remedial measures in cooperation with the Study Group.

During the year, the Study Group and its Natural and Synthetic Rubber Producers Consultative Committee made significant progress on studies necessary to a better understanding of the competitive relationship of natural and synthetic rubber. These studies included such topics as production costs and the market areas in which technical considerations primarily govern the choice between natural and synthetic rubber. At its October meeting, the Study Group agreed that it was now possible to move to a deeper analysis of the problems confronting general purpose rubbers, both natural and synthetic, as well as of possible solutions. The Secretary General of the Study Group was commissioned to prepare such a study, drawing at his discretion on the assistance which other organizations such as IBRD, FAO, and UNCTAD could provide.

Meeting subsequently, UNCTAD's Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes reviewed these developments and welcomed the prospective study. It also authorized further work by the UNCTAD secretariat on an econometric model for the world rubber market, and on studies of barriers to trade in natural rubber and measures to deal with short-term price instability.

OILSEEDS AND OILS

The FAO Study Group on Oilseeds, Oils, and Fats (jointly serviced by the FAO and UNCTAD secretariats) met in February, immediately prior to UNCTAD II, to review the feasibility and economic effects of proposed solutions to the problems of developing countries exporting oilseeds and oils. It found difficulties with most proposals for international action on this complex group of products and narrowed the possible courses of action which it believed merited further study to (1) trade liberalization, (2) a compensatory payments arrangement, (3) an international food aid scheme, (4) a buffer stock for a limited range of products, particularly the lauric oils, and (5) informal orderly marketing arrangements maintained through periodic consultations assessing the market outlook.

UNCTAD II requested the FAO and UNCTAD secretariats "jointly and urgently" to pursue the proposed studies, and recommended that the UNCTAD Secretary General and FAO Director General, in light of these studies and in consultation with interested governments, consider the necessity for setting up an intergovernmental consultative committee by the end of 1968. The studies were reviewed at the fourth session of the Study Group in December, but no consensus was reached on the substantive measures that should be stressed. The meeting devoted much of its time to the question of establishing a consultative committee, but a decision to establish such a committee was blocked by representatives of certain developing countries who favored such a group within the UNCTAD framework and feared that an FAO consultative committee would foreclose the possibility.

HARD FIBERS

The Consultative Subcommittee of the FAO Study Group on Hard

Fibers met in January, June, and November, primarily to review and improve the operation of the informal arrangement for sisal and henequen accepted by the Study Group in September 1967. This arrangement involves minimum selling prices and voluntary export quotas to keep supplies in line with import demand and permit a gradual strengthening of prices. The consuming countries have not opposed such an arrangement because the situation of the producers is critical and because the arrangement was worked out within the context of a set of principles protecting the interests of importers and consumers. After the informal arrangement began to take effect, the downward trend in sisal prices was arrested.

JUTE

Similarly, the FAO Study Group on Jute has a Consultative Committee through which an informal arrangement has been developed. At the time that the Committee and Study Group met in September, a sharp upswing in prices was under way and the efficacy of the informal arrangement in dealing with the chronic price instability of jute was put in question. This product, like other fibers, is subject to serious competition from synthetics and suffers, in the long run, from periods of high prices. Attention has therefore turned to other possible measures, including a buffer stock, which was first suggested by Pakistan and which UNCTAD II recommended be explored.

OTHER PRODUCTS

Other specialized commodity bodies active during the year in which the United States participated were the commodity councils administering the International Coffee Agreement and the International Grains Arrangement, the International Cotton Advisory Committee,

the International Lead and Zinc Study Group, and the U.N. Committee on Tungsten. All but the last are autonomous bodies which cooperate as appropriate with U.N. commodity organizations.

U.N. Industrial Development Organization

An autonomous body within the United Nations, UNIDO is intended to promote industrial development and accelerate the industrialization of developing countries. Its administrative and research expenses are met from the regular U.N. budget; its operational activities are financed partly by voluntary contributions (primarily through the UNDP), and partly by the U.N. Regular Program of Technical Assistance. UNIDO also has a small operational fund (Special Industrial Service Fund) and has authority to obtain funds for operational purposes through an annual pledging conference.

The United States is a member of UNIDO's 45-state governing body, the Industrial Development Board (IDB) which annually reviews UNIDO's budget and programs. The second session of the IDB (Vienna, April 17-May 14) was attended by observers from 21 countries and the Holy See in addition to 44 of the 45 members. Three important problems that became apparent during the session were (1) UNIDO's need to establish its own guidelines in industrial development policy, (2) the lack of any system of priorities in UNIDO's work program, and (3) the less than satisfactory quality of the documents presenting the 1968 and 1969 work programs. These problems relate, in part, to the lack of experience of the UNIDO secretariat, given the newness of the organization.

At this IDB session the developing countries generally called upon UNIDO to become a more vigorous body in the industrial development field, and also pressed for more funds that UNIDO could directly administer. The Western countries, although supporting the former point, placed most of the emphasis on the need for UNIDO to expand its operational field activities, preferably at the expense of Headquarters staffing. In general, developed country support was not forthcoming for the move to increase operational funds available to UNIDO independent of the UNDP. After sharp controversy the IDB adopted a resolution recommending that, as proposed by UNIDO's Executive Director, the sum of \$1.5 million be included in the U.N. budget for industrial development under the Regular Program of Technical Assistance. The developing countries almost unanimously supported this figure, while the majority of developed countries, including the United States, opposed any significant increase over the previous level of approximately \$1.0 million. (See p. 81 for Assembly action.)

During its second session the IDB established a precedent for an intensive field-by-field—and within each field, project-by-project—review and discussion of UNIDO's work program. Taken in conjunction with the IDB's decision to establish an inter-sessional Working Group on Program and Coordination to meet in advance of future IDB meetings, this represented a hopeful beginning toward a more meaningful IDB and country role in future UNIDO programming.

Another important aspect of the IDB's work concerned UNIDO's role as a coordinator of U.N. activities in the industrial development field. The IDB strongly supported the establishment of a network of industrial field advisers attached to the offices of the UNDP resident representatives, and welcomed the agreement

between UNIDO and UNDP under which the latter would finance the appointment of the first group of such advisers in 1969. During the year the IDB also began consultations with the FAO, ILO, ECOSOC regional economic commissions, and other U.N. bodies on problems concerning coordination of their various programs.

During the year UNIDO organized the Second Interregional Iron and Steel Symposium which was held in Moscow, September 19–October 9. Observers from U.S. industry presented a well-received paper at the symposium. American industry was also represented on a UNIDO-sponsored expert group which met in Bursa, Turkey, November 4–8 to consider processing problems and the selection of machinery in the woolen and worsted industry. Other UNIDO meetings, seminars, and training courses held during the year dealt, *inter alia*, with in-plant training in the mechanical industry, the development of industrial exports, integrated food processing, the development of plastics industries, and small-scale industries. UNIDO also maintained an extensive research and publications program.

The increase in UNIDO's administrative and research budget was one of the largest in the United Nations in 1968. The budget rose from \$6,330,000 in 1967 to \$8,232,000 in 1968.

U.N. Capital Development Fund

The Capital Development Fund was established in 1966 by the 21st General Assembly over the opposition of the United States and most other developed countries which considered that what was required was not another institution to pro-

vide development financing at less than market rates but greater attention to existing institutions. The United States and some other developed countries also objected to the fact that the administrative expenses of the Fund were to be borne by the assessed budget of the United Nations.

The two significant developments in 1968 with respect to the Capital Development Fund were that the second annual pledging conference yielded results almost as meager as the first; and that the UNDP, in which management of the Fund is temporarily vested, considered concrete proposals for the use of the existing pledges.

The 22d Assembly in 1967 had placed the Fund under the management of the UNDP Administrator and Governing Council because the pledges to the Fund had been too small to make a separate administration economic.

In January 1968, at the fifth session of the UNDP Governing Council, there was some preliminary discussion of what should be done with the Capital Development Fund and its resources; the Administrator was asked to report in detail at the next Council session. At the sixth session, in June, the Administrator proposed that the Fund should participate in projects financed by the regional development banks as soon as its resources reached the equivalent of \$10 million. He further proposed that the Fund restrict itself to these participating operations until its capital reached the equivalent of \$100 million, and pointed out that the high cost of administering the Fund made a more independent course uneconomic.

The Governing Council took note of the Administrator's report and requested him to continue his efforts, "including the examination of further possibilities," to enable the Capital Development Fund to begin operations, and to report to the

seventh session of the Governing Council in 1969. The United States and seven other developed countries stated that they did not wish to be associated with this decision.

The U.N. Secretary-General convened the annual pledging conference for the Fund in New York in November 1968. This second conference yielded a total equivalent to \$1,306,716, of which slightly more than \$146,000 was in convertible currency. These pledges raised the total pledged to the Fund to about \$2.6 million of which less than \$300,000 is convertible. The United States and 75 other countries, including almost all the developed countries, did not attend the conference.

On December 17 the 23d General Assembly adopted by a vote of 76 to 8 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions, a resolution which gave continuing support to the Fund and endorsed the hope expressed by ECOSOC at its 45th session that all countries would contribute to it. The resolution also continued the provisional arrangement whereby the UNDP managed the Fund; the 24th Assembly will review this arrangement in 1969.

Population Activities

During the past several years many U.N. agencies have completed the necessary legal groundwork enabling them to undertake action programs in the population field. ECOSOC's Population Commission did not meet in 1968, but several other bodies took steps which gave impetus to the development of an effective U.N. population program.

On February 16 the Commission on the Status of Women during its 21st session adopted a resolution co-sponsored by the United States and 11 other countries that decided to appoint a special rapporteur to

continue the study of family planning in relation to the status of women. The Commission also invited interested member states to make studies on the status and implications of family planning in relation to the rights and status of women, and this invitation was later repeated by ECOSOC at its 44th session. The United States indicated that it would undertake such a study.

The Commission for Social Development, during its 19th session in February, included as one of the principles of a Draft Declaration on Social Development the right of the family to decide the number of its children. As later revised and adopted by the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) of the 23d General Assembly, this principle states that "parents have the exclusive right to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children." (The General Assembly, however, deferred its action on the Draft Declaration until its 24th session.)

UNCTAD II, in a resolution on the world food problem adopted on March 22 took cognizance of the relevance of population to nutrition when it urged developing countries, *inter alia*, "to consider the effects of the problems created by the dynamics of population on food requirements and take appropriate measures."

On May 13 the International Conference on Human Rights unanimously adopted the Proclamation of Tehran which "solemnly proclaimed" among other things that "parents have a basic human right to determine freely and responsibly the number and the spacing of their children." Subsequently, on December 19 the 23d General Assembly during its consideration of all aspects of the International Year for Human Rights adopted by a vote of 115 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, a resolution endorsing the proclamation.

The 21st World Health Assembly,

which met in Geneva May 6-24, also adopted a resolution on the "Health Aspects of Population Dynamics" which recognized that family planning "plays a role in social and economic development." Population and its relation to economic and social development was subsequently a major topic of discussion at the 45th ECOSOC in July. On July 30 ECOSOC unanimously adopted a resolution cosponsored by the United States and Sweden on this subject which, among other provisions, (1) recommended that the UNDP give due consideration to applications requesting financial assistance in dealing with population programs; and (2) requested the Secretary-General to pursue a work program in population fields covering training, research, information, and advisory services, and to give special attention to those aspects of direct benefit to developing countries, "especially advice and technical assistance requested by Governments in population fields" within the context of national policies, and "where appropriate, religious and cultural considerations."

In 1967 the United States, in response to an appeal by the Secretary-General, had pledged \$500,000 to the Population Trust Fund in order to facilitate the establishment of a U.N. population field staff for a period of from 18 to 24 months. This field staff would help member countries identify and prepare action projects for submission to appropriate U.N. bodies and other interested donors. In July 1968 the United States made a second contribution to the Fund of \$235,000 for the purpose of expanding the staff and activities of ECAFE in the field of population. Later, in conjunction with Human Rights Week, a further U.S. pledge of \$1 million was announced on December 16 for funding action projects in population and family planning upon request by countries.

Statistical Activities

ECOSOC's Statistical Commission provides overall guidance for U.N. statistical activities which are carried out primarily by the U.N. Statistical Office. The latter, a part of the Secretariat, furnishes centralized computer services in cooperation with the secretariats of the specialized agencies and the regional economic commissions. Over the past 21 years the statistical agencies of the U.N. system have done much to coordinate and integrate the national and international statistical series on which many decisions in the economic, social, and political fields depend.

The 15th session of the Statistical Commission, held in New York February 26-March 8, was notable for the emphasis given to improved coordination in international statistical activities, an emphasis strongly supported by the United States. The Commission proposed a resolution on "international statistical work program and coordination" which was later adopted unanimously on May 31 by ECOSOC at its 44th session. The resolution requested the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the executive heads of the specialized agencies,

(1) to take steps to promote the development of an integrated and coordinated international statistical program, based on longer term planning than then in effect, and

(2) to arrange for joint consultation between representatives of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and a working group consisting of the Chairman and two other members of the Statistical Commission in furtherance of this objective.

The Statistical Commission made substantial progress in other important areas of its work as well, including national economic accounts, industrial statistics, statistical classifications, and the development or

improvement in international comparability of statistics on vital events, external trade, international travel, research and development, and other subjects.

NATIONAL ACCOUNTS

Work on revision and extension of the U.N. System of National Accounts (SNA), which has been under way for several years, culminated in 1968 with the Commission's approval of the new system, subject to a number of stipulated modifications and amendments. This first comprehensive revision of the SNA since 1952 extended the system to include input-output and flow-of-funds accounts integrated with the income and product accounts, and to provide for constant-price estimates of the main aggregates. The new system should furnish valuable guidelines for developing integrated systems of statistics nationally and for reporting national accounting data internationally. Moreover, the changes introduced will increase the comparability between the SNA and the System of Material Product Balances (MPS) used in countries of Eastern Europe.

The Commission also adopted priorities for its further work in the field of national accounts and related subjects, including:

(1) preparation of technical manuals on various aspects of the new SNA;

(2) aid to developing countries in the use of the new system;

(3) formulation of international guidelines on definitions, classifications, and standard accounts and tables for the balance-sheet and revaluation accounts of the new SNA;

(4) development of international recommendations on the concepts, definitions, classifications, and methods of compilation of the index numbers and other series of an integrated system of price and quantity indexes which fit into the

national accounting framework; and
(5) the development of proposals for a coherent, preferably integrated, system of demographic, manpower, and other social statistics correlated with the national accounts.

Provision was also made in the future work program for further attention to links between SNA and the MPS, and continued study of statistics on the distribution of income and wealth.

INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS

Significant progress in this important field was marked by the Commission's approval of a new set of "International Recommendations for a System of Industrial Statistics," together with new recommendations for construction statistics, representing a considerable advance over previous recommendations. These recommendations take into account both changes in the industrial structure and patterns of production, and the fact that competence in compiling statistics in this field has substantially improved since the previous recommendations were adopted. They also reflect the greater use of such data in the decision-making process.

A resolution on "Industrial censuses for 1973," adopted unanimously by the 44th ECOSOC on the Commission's recommendation, urged member states to take the new recommendations into account as far as possible in compiling basic data on industry.

The Commission continued its work on other aspects of industrial statistics, including:

(1) the development of basic lists of commodities for which industrial production and consumption data should be compiled on an annual basis; and

(2) a study of the problems and methods in compiling statistics on the distributive and service trades, with a view to revising the existing international recommendations in

the light of recent national experience.

The Commission began reviewing existing international recommendations for index numbers of industrial production, which require revision both as the result of methodological improvements in the treatment of such factors as quality changes, incorporation of new products, seasonal adjustment, and deflation of value series, and to take account of the need to view the industrial indexes as an integral part of the output series in constant prices of the revised SNA.

STATISTICAL CLASSIFICATIONS

The first thorough review since 1958 of the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC) was completed during the year. The ISIC is widely used both nationally and internationally in the classification of data according to kind of economic activity in the fields of population, production, employment, national income, and other economic statistics.

The Commission also recognized the need to revise the Standard International Trade Classification (SITC). Since maintenance of the desirable one-to-one correspondence that now exists between the SITC and the Brussels Tariff Nomenclature (BTN) requires concurrent action by the United Nations and the Customs Cooperation Council¹ on any revisions, it was not possible to establish a definite schedule of work or target date for completion of the revision. It was believed, how-

ever, that some work could be done by the 16th session (1970) of the Commission, with the aim of completing the revision by the 17th session (1972).

VITAL STATISTICS

On the recommendation of the Statistical Commission, ECOSOC unanimously adopted at its 44th session a resolution calling for a "World Program for the Improvement of Vital Statistics." The resolution requested the Secretary-General to undertake such a program, and recommended that member states endeavor either to establish an adequate system of vital records and statistics or to improve the existing system, so as to yield reliable statistics of birth, death, marriage, and divorce to meet the needs of economic and social development planning.

The Commission also noted the completion of the first major step in revising the Principles for a Vital Statistics System—the preparation of a set of draft proposals for improvement and standardization of such data. It requested the Secretary-General to circulate the draft proposals for comment, to prepare a revised draft taking into account the comments received, and to submit the revised draft at its 16th session, as well as at the 15th session (1969) of the Population Commission.

OTHER TOPICS

Other subjects considered by the Commission at its 15th session were statistics of international travel, research and development, and external trade. With respect to the latter the Commission noted the progress made on a project endorsed at its 13th session on "Compilation and publication of recommendations for the definition and statistical treatment of the main categories of commodities in the inward and

¹ An intergovernmental body that studies problems in customs tariff legislation and techniques, makes recommendations on the harmonization of customs practices, drafts customs conventions, and provides guidance on the interpretation and application of the international conventions on tariff nomenclature and customs valuation. The Council was established by a Convention done at Brussels Dec. 15, 1950; the U.S. accession was signed by the President Oct. 18, 1968, but has not yet been deposited.

outward flows of international trade, together with descriptions of national practices in this field." The Commission expressed its belief that this paper, expected to be completed shortly and circulated to governments, would be very useful, especially for developing countries seeking to improve the quality and comparability of their trade statistics.

U.N. Institute for Training and Research

UNITAR is an autonomous institution within the U.N. framework with two principal functions: (1) operational research, planning, and evaluation of U.N. activities, and (2) training of persons for assignments with the United Nations and for national service. UNITAR is financed by voluntary contributions and is guided by a Board of Trustees responsible for determining its basic policies and its budget. The Trustees are appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the presidents of the General Assembly and ECOSOC. On March 1 Chief S. O. Adebo of Nigeria succeeded Gabriel d'Arboussier of Senegal as Executive Director with the rank of Under Secretary General of the United Nations.

At its annual meeting in September the Board of Trustees approved the plans and programs submitted by the Executive Director, including the addition of research specialists, long-range planning for research activities under a Ford Foundation grant, and new projects for 1969 on programming of U.N. development assistance, procedures for settlement of disputes, enforcement of international obligations, codification of international law, implications of developments in science and technology, and evaluation of U.N. public information activities. The Board adopted a budget estimate for 1969 of

\$1,334,000; the 1968 budget was \$1,290,000.

The United States contributed \$400,000 to UNITAR's regular budget in 1968, and also contributed \$100,000 to meet the cost of Adlai E. Stevenson Memorial Fellowships which are designed to improve the competence for public service of a select international group of young men and women and to further their understanding of the role of international organizations.

ECOSOC ACTION

In his report to the 45th ECOSOC session in Geneva, Chief Adebo put particular emphasis on decentralization of training programs and reported progress on research projects nearing completion.

Ambassador David M. McConnell, a member of the U.S. delegation, noted favorably the decision to decentralize training activities, in particular the regional seminars on technical assistance and training in diplomacy, but reiterated the U.S. view that special attention should be given to the expansion of in-house training for high level U.N. and specialized agency staffs, both administrative management and substantive aspects of U.N. activities. Commenting on the U.S. special interest in the Stevenson fellowship program, he noted that the United States had been impressed with the caliber of the fellows selected but would like to see more emphasis placed on their participation in actual U.N. activities at the working level.

With respect to UNITAR's research program, Ambassador McConnell said that the United States placed particular value on operations analysis of U.N. activities, such as the application of the planning-programming-budgeting system to the economic and social activities of the United Nations.

On July 16 ECOSOC unanimously adopted a resolution which noted with satisfaction the progress

made by UNITAR in its training and research programs and the initiation of a comprehensive review of the Institute's work; reaffirmed the importance of coordination between UNITAR and the U.N. Secretariat, other U.N. bodies, and appropriate national and international institutes; and supported the appeal of the Executive Director for greater financial support through additional pledges as well as prompt payment on past pledges.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Second Committee of the 23d General Assembly discussed UNITAR at three meetings between October 29 and November 8. Chief Adebo reported that "clear and definitive guidelines" had been approved by the Board of Trustees for the training programs, singling out the training program for junior diplomats from the developing countries and a colloquium for senior U.N. officers. He reviewed the status of research projects nearing completion on the "brain drain," criteria and methods for evaluating U.N. assistance to developing countries, the U.N. information program, transfer of technology from enterprise to enterprise, and the problems of the relation of small states to the U.N. system. He also requested endorsement for a projected expansion of the research program.

In the ensuing debate the developing countries called for more train-

ing programs to assist them, while others stressed the need to enhance the quality of UNITAR's programs.

Ambassador Goldschmidt expressed the U.S. view that the chief concern of UNITAR should be to ensure the effectiveness and widest possible use of its programs rather than their expansion. He reaffirmed the U.S. views expressed earlier at ECOSOC and urged UNITAR, considering its budgetary limits, to concentrate on training personnel for service with U.N. bodies. He also urged that UNITAR's research program be more systematically planned than had been possible in its early period.

On October 29 Iraq introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 17 states, which was adopted without objection by the Second Committee on November 8 and the General Assembly on November 19. The resolution endorsed ECOSOC's resolution on UNITAR; noted with satisfaction the Executive Director's intention to conduct a review of the research programs; commended the Institute's "expanding activities in both training and research," singling out in this respect the studies on the international migration of professionals from developing to developed countries ("brain drain") and on the criteria and methods for evaluating development activities; and supported the Executive Director's call for greater financial support through the fulfillment of pledges and additional voluntary contributions.

Social Cooperation

Social cooperation includes activities in such fields as health and nutrition, labor, education, vocational training, housing and urban

development, crime prevention and control, and social welfare.

ECOSOC's Commission for Social Development has the primary re-

sponsibility for developing U.N. policy and programs in these fields, but specific aspects of social policy are also the concern of the Population Commission, the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning.

Programs are carried out by a number of U.N. bodies including WHO, ILO, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR, and the regional economic commissions.

Social Development and Planning

The Commission for Social Development held its 19th session in New York February 5-March 2. The major items on its agenda were (1) development and utilization of human resources, (2) the 1967 *Report on the World Social Situation*, (3) the work program, and (4) the draft declaration on social development. The Commission's work was reviewed by ECOSOC in May at its 44th session, and the 23d General Assembly later considered some aspects of it.

DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES

The Commission had before it two reports on this subject, one by the ILO and the other by the Secretary-General. The ILO report, on the creation of job opportunities and training of cadres in countries undergoing rapid modernization, was concerned primarily with the development of the skills necessary to achieve full, productive, and freely chosen employment. The Secretary-General's report dealt primarily with measures to intensify international action in training national personnel for economic and social development.

Introducing the report, the representative of the Secretary-General stressed that motivation and participation by the whole population were basic factors in the achievement of development goals, and noted that human resources were perhaps the least developed and least used of all resources available to the developing countries.

In the course of the debate the Commission agreed that a basic need was to review existing school curricula and teaching methods in order to relate them to the environment in which the young people must live. Although most countries devote substantial effort and large parts of their budgets to education, members of the Commission pointed out that the educational system was too often unrelated to the demand in virtually all developing countries for persons with technical and scientific qualifications. At the same time, even while it was stressed that education should be related to the needs of society, it was also pointed out that educational systems should not be evaluated solely on a cost-benefit basis since the true objective of education remained the furthering of human values.

The U.S. Representative, Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, indicated general approval of the recommendations in the two reports but noted the failure to recommend priorities. She urged, therefore, that priority be given to health education and nutrition, particularly with regard to children and youth.

A resolution on development and utilization of human resources was introduced by Upper Volta on behalf of nine African and European states and unanimously adopted by the Commission on February 19. The resolution recommended that in preparing his recommendations to ECOSOC on this subject the Secretary-General give high priority to such specific proposals, *inter alia*, as the need to establish or develop national institutions and machinery;

promote popular participation; advance rural development; promote health, education, and welfare; train national personnel for social research; strengthen and reorient the educational systems in developing countries; and ensure full employment.

WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION

The 1967 *Report on the World Social Situation*, prepared by the U.N. Secretariat in cooperation with other U.N. bodies and the specialized agencies concerned, was the basis for extensive debate in the Commission for Social Development and later in the General Assembly's Third Committee. Many speakers underlined the serious problems reflected in the report: the rapid population growth; the declining per capita food consumption; the lack of progress in nutrition, housing, and income levels in the developing countries; and the continued high incidence of unemployment and underemployment. The Commission emphasized its concern that at the midpoint of the First Development Decade, despite international efforts, social progress in the less developed countries was still slow; the gap between the developed and less developed countries had in fact widened. There was a general air of discouragement in the Commission about reversing the trends portrayed in the report without an increase in external resources.

The U.S. Representative in her statement highlighted the increasingly active U.N. role in providing assistance in family planning programs on requests of governments; the importance of combating malnutrition through increased food production and educational services; and the need to provide training and jobs for the large number of new entrants to the labor market. She recognized that progress had been made in education, but at the same time noted that the quality of education had tended to decline

because of the lack of trained teachers as well as the continuation of outmoded educational content.

On March 1, by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions, the Commission adopted a draft resolution sponsored by nine states, including the United States. The resolution recommended that ECOSOC call upon the Committee for Development Planning to take into account for formulating its proposals for the Second Development Decade a number of specific considerations drawn from the 1967 *Report on the World Social Situation* and the Commission's discussion of it. The 44th ECOSOC subsequently adopted the resolution on May 31 by a vote of 24 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions.

The 23d General Assembly's Third Committee considered the World Social Situation at 13 meetings between November 13 and 26. Some 51 countries expressed their views during the general debate on this topic, many stressing the need for integrated social and economic development and for governments to incorporate social aims in their development plans and requests for technical assistance.

On November 25 the Third Committee adopted by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, a draft resolution sponsored by 26 countries, including the United States. Before adoption the draft underwent two revisions and was substantially amended by various countries to broaden its scope. In its final form it, *inter alia*:

(1) recommended that states incorporate social as well as economic objectives and targets in their national plans, programs and research;

(2) endorsed the guidelines for an integrated approach to the goals and programs for the Second Development Decade that had been proposed by the Commission on Social Development and adopted by ECOSOC;

(3) invited developing countries to take social factors into account in

formulating their requests for development assistance;

(4) reaffirmed the right of all countries to exercise sovereignty over their natural resources in the interests of their national social and economic development;

(5) called on the economically advanced states to reach the UNCTAD II aid target (see p. 81) as soon as possible, so that problems of social development could be dealt with along with those of economic development; and

(6) recommended that governments make further efforts in the field of disarmament and use the resources thereby released for economic and social development.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary session on December 19 by a vote of 109 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

WORK PROGRAM

The Social Development Commission adopted three resolutions on its future work program.

The United States cosponsored with eight other members a draft resolution concerning technical assistance for social development. The resolution, adopted by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, noted the declining share of technical cooperation resources being devoted to social development purposes and requested the Secretary-General, in preparing for the Governing Council of the UNDP a study on the Regular Program of Technical Assistance, to give particular attention to its role in promoting social development and helping ensure the maximum effectiveness as a whole of U.N. technical cooperation services in the social field. Member governments were urged to make effective use of UNDP resources for social development purposes and to improve their planning methods in order to achieve integrated requests to the UNDP which would take the social, economic, and administrative aspects fully into account.

The 44th ECOSOC adopted the resolution on May 31 by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions.

The question of a just and equitable distribution of income is basic to national efforts to raise levels of living and has policy implications for all aspects of social development. After considering the report of the Group of Experts on Social Policy and the Distribution of Income in the Nation which had met early in 1967, the Commission unanimously adopted a resolution introduced by France on behalf of nine sponsors recommending that ECOSOC approve a proposed long-range work program of analytical country studies on this topic. ECOSOC later approved the resolution unanimously on May 31.

The third resolution, on the social aspects of industrialization, was introduced by the Byelorussian S.S.R., and after amendment was adopted by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions. In its final form it noted the increasing interest in the study of social aspects of industrialization as an important aspect of the Commission's activities and requested the Secretary-General to take into account the need for a program of studies in this field in preparing his proposals for priorities in the work program that he would submit at the Commission's 20th session in 1969.

DRAFT DECLARATION ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The United States was a member of the Working Party which, in a 10-day session just prior to the Commission's meeting, prepared a draft declaration on Social Development. In the course of the Commission's consideration numerous written and oral amendments were submitted. The draft, as approved by the Commission, consisted of a Preamble, 13 Principles, 12 Objectives, and 30 Means and Methods for achieving them. It was adopted on March 1 by

a vote of 24 to 0, with 6 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because it believed the purpose of the declaration was being subverted through the inclusion of a political item which completely changed its character. The United States objected to a paragraph added to the Means and Methods section on the initiative of the U.S.S.R. which called for "compensation for damages, be they social or economic in nature, including restitution and reparations, caused as a result of aggression and of illegal occupation of territory by the aggressor." Nine of the states which voted for the draft also expressed their belief that this paragraph was inappropriate and hoped it would be omitted or revised by ECOSOC.

The draft declaration was forwarded to the 44th ECOSOC for consideration. ECOSOC, in turn, circulated it, together with all amendments and relevant comments made during the session, to member governments for their comments and then to the 23d General Assembly.

The Third Committee of the 23d Assembly devoted 31 meetings between October 16 and November 12 to consideration of the draft, whose title it amended to read "Draft Declaration on Social Progress and Development." The Preamble of the draft as submitted to the Assembly concentrated on several issues, particularly the close interrelationship between economic and social development; the relationship between development and peace and progress; coexistence and peaceful cooperation between states with different social systems; and the widening gap between developed and developing countries.

Amendments to the Preamble offered by the Latin American states and others strengthened the emphasis on the dignity and worth of the human person, and the need for a just social order accompanied by economic development and peace in order to fulfill man's aspirations. The

Preamble as amended was adopted unanimously.

The Principles section of the draft declaration included the basic points considered essential for social development. Among these were:

(1) the right of all people to enjoy the fruits of social progress;

(2) permanent sovereignty of each nation over its natural wealth and resources;

(3) national independence based on self-determination as a fundamental condition for social progress;

(4) respect for and implementation of human rights and social justice;

(5) full utilization of human resources and active participation of all elements of society in the development process;

(6) immediate and final elimination of all forms of inequality, exploitation, colonialism and racism;

(7) assurance of the right to work and to free choice of employment;

(8) protection of the family as the basic social unit and the right of each family to determine the number and spacing of its children; and

(9) expansion and equitable distribution of national income.

Some of the more significant amendments made by the Third Committee were:

(1) an addition sponsored by nine Latin American states and the U.A.R. stating the need to assure the disadvantaged or marginal sectors of the population equal opportunity for social and economic advancement;

(2) an addition sponsored by the U.S.S.R. (adopted by 55 to 4 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions) stating the need to establish "forms of ownership of land and of the means of production which preclude any kind of exploitation of man, ensure equal rights to property for all and create conditions leading to a genuine equality among people"; and

(3) an addition sponsored by France stating the need to achieve equitable terms of trade for the developing countries so as to increase

their national income in order to advance social development.

The Third Committee adopted the section on Principles as a whole on November 12 by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

The General Assembly took no action in plenary session on the partially completed draft and on December 6 adopted without objection the Third Committee's recommendation that it consider the draft declaration at its 24th session as a matter of high priority with a view to completing it at that session.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

The International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, the first such conference held at U.N. Headquarters, convened in New York September 3-12; 96 governments were represented. The U.S. delegation to the Conference was led by Wilbur J. Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Secretary Cohen spoke on the first day. Commending past U.N. achievements in social aid to member states, he emphasized the social goals of free societies and gave strong support to the developmental approach to meeting them. In this approach social welfare would not wait for its work to be created by default but would attempt to direct part of its resources toward positive efforts to enhance the content of living, to strengthen individual and family well-being in rapidly changing conditions, and to provide social opportunity as well as social security. Such an approach, he pointed out, required better social data and strengthened social research resources. He stressed the need for cooperation by health, education, and welfare personnel in the priority area of family planning, and recommended the establishment of a high level U.N. social welfare advisory

committee to strengthen and facilitate U.N. leadership in the social welfare field.

The Conference established technical commissions to consider and make recommendations on its four main agenda items: (1) social welfare within the framework of national development, (2) government responsibility for social welfare, (3) meeting manpower needs for social welfare, and (4) international cooperation in the social welfare field. The commissions' recommendations were debated and modified in plenary session.

A major principle endorsed by the Conference was that the responsibility for social welfare should be clearly established within the national government structure in order to insure that social welfare experts could influence basic decisions regarding overall national development planning and programs. In addition, the central government should provide the leadership for involving national and local authorities, nongovernmental organizations, and the people themselves in order to insure that social welfare services were responsive to the needs of the people.

The Conference emphasized the need to base long-range planning on research and analysis of social conditions and problems, and on a continuing evaluation of the effectiveness of social welfare programs. There was a strong conviction that priority should be given to those programs that helped large sections of the population and those that stimulated self-help projects. Frequent reference was also made to the need to ensure that social welfare services were equally available to rural and urban areas.

With respect to manpower needs, the Conference developed a consensus on the following points:

(1) government is responsible for assuring the availability of qualified social welfare personnel;

(2) there should be a central

manpower system to train staff at all levels;

(3) the prestige of the social welfare profession should be increased by better salaries and working conditions;

(4) indigenous training facilities should be developed within each country with the aid of U.N. bodies and other countries; and

(5) the development of regional and subregional leadership training centers should be given a high priority in international cooperation activities.

The Conference also recommended new methods of regional cooperation be explored and emphasized, and that priority be given to helping countries strengthen their planning machinery, administrative capability, manpower policies, and training programs.

The final report of the Conference was placed on the agenda of the resumed 45th session of ECOSOC which decided on October 31 to transmit it to the 20th session (1969) of the Commission for Social Development for consideration and comments.

Social Defense Activities

Two significant international meetings in the field of social defense convened during 1968. The first was the U.N. Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders which held its second meeting in Geneva August 6-16. H. G. Moeller, Assistant Director, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, represented the United States at this meeting which was attended by some 129 representatives of 56 nations as well as representatives of specialized agencies, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations.

The work of the Group was divided into four sections, one for each principal agenda item:

(1) prevention of juvenile delinquency in the context of national development;

(2) economics of training for social defense;

(3) implementation of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners; and

(4) capital punishment.

Each section prepared a report synthesizing its discussions; the discussions were well focused throughout and provided a broad exchange of valuable information.

The report of the section on preventing juvenile delinquency, although general in character and lacking specific guidelines, nonetheless touched on many important issues related to the planning of prevention programs within the context of a country's general development program.

The report on training concentrated on policies and actions to insure that financial and manpower resources for personnel development be used in ways that would achieve maximum practical benefits. It gave considerable attention to issues involved in the allocation of financial resources to social defense training, and directed special attention to the demonstrated contributions of the U.N. Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders—a regional center for training correctional personnel—and to the need for similar programs in other regions.

The report of the section on the Standard Minimum Rules stressed the importance of these rules which are designed to protect the human rights of persons charged with and convicted of crime and, especially, of those detained or imprisoned. The Group urged that the rules be reexamined in the light of the inauguration of community-based correctional programs in many parts of the world.

After a careful review by the section on capital punishment, the Group unanimously endorsed a reso-

lution that had been drafted by the Human Rights Commission (see p. 129) and unanimously recommended by the 44th ECOSOC for adoption by the General Assembly. This resolution, *inter alia*, invited member governments "to ensure the most careful legal procedures and the greatest possible safeguards for the accused in capital cases in countries where the death penalty obtains" The 23d General Assembly subsequently adopted the resolution on November 26 by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions.

In plenary action the Consultative Group considered a progress report on two field studies started by the newly founded U.N. Social Defense Research Institute in Rome. One of the studies concerned manpower needs of social defense programs in developing countries; the other concerned public participation in the prevention and control of criminality. The group also noted that in addition to its studies the Institute was strengthening its program of international documentation services. The United States is actively cooperating with the Institute in this latter endeavor.

The second important social defense meeting of the year was the December 2-6 meeting in Tokyo, under ECAFE auspices, of the *Ad Hoc* Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. Myrl E. Alexander, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, was one of the experts. The purpose of the meeting was to consider proposals and formulate recommendations to the Japanese Government and the United Nations on ways and means to develop and strengthen the Asia and Far East Institute's program for the benefit of the entire region. The Japanese Government will assume responsibility for the direction of the program in 1970 after the Institute will have operated for 5 years. A number of practical recommenda-

tions designed to assure the Institute's continued operation as an interregional activity were developed by the Committee for consideration by the appropriate Japanese and U.N. official bodies.

Advisory Social Welfare Services

The United States takes an active part in all phases of the U.N. program of Advisory Social Welfare Services which provides technical advisers, fellowships, professional literature, seminars, workshops, and demonstration projects in every region of the world. The program is financed as part of the U.N. Regular Program of Technical Assistance. Less than \$700,000 was spent for it in 1968 (compared to approximately \$1.6 million in 1967) because of an increasing commitment of Regular Program funds to industrialization projects (see p. 80). Nevertheless, in 1968 some 239 technicians, 137 fellowships, and workshops and seminars for 199 participants were made available in such fields as social planning, social welfare, social defense, community development, and land reform.

Major attention was placed on assisting member states with program development, improved administration of services, and training of personnel. Expert assistance was equally divided among general welfare, training, and such specialized programs as rehabilitation and family and child welfare.

Despite the smaller overall program, more U.N. Fellows studied in the United States in 1968 (53) than in 1967 (40). The 53 Fellows from 27 countries undertook U.S. programs in such fields as social policy and planning, social work education, community participation in devel-

opment programs, social welfare research, urban development, social welfare administration, family and child welfare services, and social defense—including juvenile delinquency, rehabilitation, and group therapy and counseling. The increased number of Fellows were attracted in part by interest in the new U.S. programs for solving the widely publicized urban social problems. At the same time interest has increased among U.S. social work educators in receiving international Fellows from various areas of the world. The type of Fellow selected for training in the United States is generally an experienced and mature individual with a great readiness for utilizing the study opportunity and a facility both for selecting appropriate training and for adapting his learning from observation and study to the needs of his home country.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare served as the major host agency for the U.N. Fellows. In addition a number of private agencies, such as the Child Welfare League, National Urban League, National Federation of Settlements, and the Family and Child Welfare Society, provided useful field experiences and organized staff development seminars and other training courses for short-term Fellows.

In addition to providing individual fellowships, the program helped to fund a number of regional activities. For example, a seminar on social work education and national development was held in Bangkok for the ECAFE region. An American professor from Brandeis University was a resource person for the seminar, which formulated guidelines for the use of governments in evaluating social work education, in-service training, and auxiliary training programs in relation to current national needs.

Among the experts provided under the Advisory Services program were

eight U.S. social workers on long-term assignments in various countries and two who provided short-term consultation to the Tehran School of Social Work.

Housing, Building, and Planning

Because the mounting urban crisis is a worldwide problem, there is a great mutuality of interest in solving this problem and much benefit to be gained for all nations through international cooperation. In a letter of August 9 President Johnson directed the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to "take every necessary step to promote the exchange of information and housing technology with other nations." It was a matter of disappointment, therefore, that U.N. activities in the housing, building, and planning field were at a significantly lower level in 1968 than in previous years. The ECOSOC Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning, which meets biennially, did not meet in 1968, and for the second successive year the General Assembly deferred consideration of its agenda item on this subject.

ECOSOC ACTION

On May 28 the 44th ECOSOC unanimously approved three resolutions recommended by the Committee of Housing, Building, and Planning during its 1967 meeting.

The first, cosponsored by the United States during the Committee's meeting, requested the Secretary-General: (1) to consult with the ILO to ensure that the latter's proposed housing survey, to be issued in 1970, would serve the interest and needs of all U.N. organs; and (2) to initiate the publication of a quinquennial hous-

ing survey in 1973 which would put "equal emphasis upon the rural and urban sectors of housing." The resolution also requested the General Assembly to accept this quinquennial survey in lieu of the biennial reports it had called for in 1965.

The second resolution, also co-sponsored by the United States in the Committee, recommended exploring the possibility of launching a special campaign to focus world attention on housing, perhaps including the designation of an international year for housing and urban and rural development during the forthcoming Development Decade. The Secretary-General was asked to determine the views of member states on the various proposals.

The third resolution requested the Secretary-General to approach member states for the funds required to establish in New Delhi, India, an International Institute for Documentation on Housing, Building and Planning which ECOSOC had approved in principle in 1966 at its 41st session. As a first step, when funds were available, the Secretary-General was to establish an advisory board to define the functions of a working party that would meet in Geneva for 2 or 3 years to undertake the detailed technical work necessary to establish the Institute. After the Institute was established, the advisory board would advise on all aspects of its work.

REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

The United States is a member of the ECE Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning which held its 29th meeting in May 1968. The Committee reviewed current trends and policies and as part of ECE's overall organizational review (see p. 75) began a basic reexamination of its structure and methods of work. In April and May ECE held a major conference in Stockholm of

senior officials from national bodies concerned with urban and regional research; three Americans attended. The purpose of the conference was to promote systematic collaboration between the national bodies concerned. A directory of major institutions in all ECE countries engaged in research of this nature will be published. Particular attention was devoted to ways and means of insuring a greater degree of integration of the physical, economic, and social planning in urban and regional development.

Among the activities of the other regional commissions was an ECAFE-sponsored seminar on industrialization of housing for Asia and the Far East which was held in Copenhagen in September. In April ECA convened a meeting of experts on house building costs, and from June 17 to 28 it conducted a seminar on the organization and conduct of censuses of population and housing. The purpose of the latter, which was attended by a U.S. observer from the Bureau of the Census, was to improve the basic statistics on housing and urban development which are urgently needed for the formulation of more realistic national housing programs.

By backstopping technical assistance, experts, seminars, study tours, conferences, and the like, the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning also supported some 72 U.N. technical assistance projects in housing, building, and physical planning throughout the world. One of these projects was a U.S.-initiated pilot demonstration to improve living conditions in squatter settlements and slums in rural and urban areas. The Center also cooperated with the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Pan American Union, and the Pan American Health Organization in an experimental program of low-cost housing in Central America.

Narcotic Drugs

Because it is the principal victim of the illegal traffic in opium and its derivative heroin, the United States has been a leader since the early part of the 20th century in efforts aimed at the international control of narcotics. It is a member of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, which held its 22d session in Geneva January 8-26.

The Commission prepared a number of draft resolutions which were subsequently adopted unanimously by the 44th ECOSOC on May 23. One of the more important of these resolutions (cosponsored in the Commission by the United States) observed that the traffic in and abuse of cannabis (marihuana) was increasing even though the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961, obliged parties to place it under strict controls. The resolution recommended that all countries concerned increase their efforts to control cannabis, and that governments promote research and advance medical and social information on cannabis, and effectively counter publicity which advocated legalization or tolerance of cannabis use as a harmless drug.

Another resolution congratulated the Government of Lebanon on its project to introduce the subsidized cultivation of sunflower seeds and other crops as a substitute for cannabis cultivation, and recommended that this effort be supported by all possible technical assistance from the United Nations and the specialized agencies, particularly the FAO.

A third resolution (cosponsored by the United States) recommended that governments adopt legislation to establish national control over psychotropic substances not under international control (amphetamines, barbiturates, hallucinogens, tranquilizers). The recommended controls included (1) availability on medical prescription only, (2) super-

vision of all transactions from production to retail distribution, (3) licensing of all producers, (4) limitation of trade to authorized persons, and (5) prohibition of nonauthorized possession for distribution.

A fourth resolution (proposed by a working group of which the United States was a member) expressed the conviction that abuse of LSD and other hallucinogenic substances presented an increasingly serious problem that could have very dangerous consequences. It recommended that governments which had already taken control measures examine them with a view to making them more stringent if required. It further urged governments to restrict the use of such substances to approved medical or scientific purposes and to prohibit all import and export of such substances except between governments or specifically approved organizations. It recommended that governments consider appropriate measures to prevent the use of possible intermediate and precursor substances for illicit manufacture of the hallucinogenic substances.

The Commission was divided in its view on the feasibility of using the Single Convention for control of LSD and similar substances, but the majority of the members (including the United States) were opposed. It was considered more feasible to prepare a new protocol covering the psychotropics.

With regard to the general control of the psychotropic substances, the Commission was unanimous in concluding that the time had come to invite governments to provide all relevant information. It therefore requested the U.N. Secretariat to prepare and circulate to governments a questionnaire regarding the extent of national legislation already in force or contemplated, the extent to which governments would find international measures a reinforcement for their own, the technical and administrative difficulties which

governments might have experienced in imposing controls over a varied range of substances, and the extent of international control they considered feasible or desirable. The Commission hoped to receive a summary of the information and views in time for discussion of a draft protocol covering psychotropics at its next session, in 1969.

The Commission adopted by a vote of 17 to 1 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions, a resolution requesting ECOSOC to review existing financial arrangements for technical assistance programs in narcotics control and to recommend such additional appropriations as it might consider necessary within the framework of the budget approved by the General Assembly. The United States opposed the resolution because it believed the projected programs indicating a greater demand for assistance were not yet sufficiently defined to call for positive action. Further, it believed that it was essential to ensure the most economical use of the funds already available before embarking on further commitments.

The Commission took note of the view of ECOSOC concerning the need for economies and the desirability of shortening meetings, but concluded that in view of the new and important tasks before it, such as the question of psychotropic substances, it would be unable to discharge its functions if its meetings were shorter than at present. At the same time the Commission decided, in the interest of economy, to make certain reductions in its documentation.

During 1968 technical assistance projects in the narcotics field included fellowships in law enforcement, administration, research, and laboratory training; a regional study tour of addict treatment and rehabilitation centers in the Far East; a regional seminar for law enforce-

ment officers, at Beirut, Lebanon; a resident narcotics adviser to Iran; a resident consultant on administration to Honduras; and the continued outposting of an officer of the Division of Narcotic Drugs to Bangkok.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

The basic function of the UNHCR is to provide legal and political protection to refugees within the UNHCR mandate, i.e., within the scope of the statute of the Office. In addition the UNHCR, in collaboration with governments and private organizations, conducts assistance programs promoting solutions to problems of needy refugees within his mandate through voluntary repatriation or their assimilation within new national communities. The UNHCR also uses his good offices (under authority contained in several General Assembly resolutions) in similarly assisting refugees who have not been determined to be within the UNHCR mandate. The UNHCR has interpreted these resolutions as precluding UNHCR assistance to refugees displaced within their own countries or having the right of nationality within their countries of asylum. In addition the Palestinian Arab refugees assisted by UNRWA (see p. 49) are not within the concern of the UNHCR since its Statute specifically provides that UNHCR competence shall not extend to refugees receiving protection or assistance from other U.N. organs or agencies.

The UNHCR Executive Committee, composed of representatives of 31 governments including the United States, reviews and supervises the High Commissioner's activities. During 1968 the Executive

Committee held its 19th regular session in Geneva October 21-30. The U.S. Representative was Ambassador Graham Martin, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee and Migration Affairs.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROTECTION

The principal responsibility of the High Commissioner is to use the prestige and authority of his Office and of the United Nations to secure necessary, effective arrangements with governmental authorities for the legal and political protection of refugees within the concern of the UNHCR. A primary tool for this is the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which prohibits the forcible return of refugees to territories where their life or freedom would be threatened. The Convention also sets forth numerous guarantees designed to improve the legal, political, economic, and social status of refugees in their countries of residence, thus facilitating their reestablishment on a basis of self-support and individual dignity. The High Commissioner is charged with encouraging further accessions to the Convention, supervising its application in states that have acceded to it, and promoting the constructive development or implementation of pertinent national legislative and administrative measures. During 1968 Finland became a party to the Convention, bringing the total of contracting states to 54 by the end of the year.

The 1951 Convention is applicable only to persons who become refugees as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951. While in practice it has thus far been possible to link new refugee problems with pre-1951 events, it has been recognized that this process will become increasingly tenuous with the passage of time. Accordingly, in 1967 the United Nations promulgated the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees,

which removes the Convention's 1951 dateline while also binding states acceding to the Protocol to apply all of the substantive articles of the Convention. Thus, parties to the Protocol (a separate instrument) are bound to extend to refugees the benefits of the Convention without limitation as to eligibility imposed by the Convention's dateline. Nineteen nations (including the United States) acceded to the Protocol during 1968, bringing the total of accessions to 28 by the end of the year.

The United States deposited its instrument of accession, with two relatively minor reservations, on November 1. One reservation was to place nonresident refugees in the same status as other aliens for tax purposes, and the second was to clarify their residence status under social security provisions as "no less favorable than is accorded aliens generally in the same circumstances."

In his August 1 message to the Senate requesting the Senate's advice and consent to accession to this international treaty, President Johnson noted that most refugees in this country already enjoyed the protection and rights that the Protocol sought to secure in all countries. Referring to the humanitarian character of the Protocol he suggested that U.S. accession would be especially significant during 1968, designated by the United Nations as the International Year for Human Rights. He said:

Given the American heritage of concern for the homeless and persecuted, and our traditional role of leadership in promoting assistance for refugees, accession by the United States to the Protocol would lend conspicuous support to the effort of the United Nations toward attaining the Protocol's objectives everywhere.

He pointed out that it was essential on humanitarian grounds to assist refugees, but that emergency assistance, if not accompanied by the pro-

vision of rights such as those embodied in the Protocol,

... can degenerate into permanent relief, fostering the refugees' human deterioration and permitting abandonment of responsibility by concerned governments. On the other hand, the provision of such rights can lead to just and lasting solutions to refugee problems. Such solutions in turn can help promote the reduction of tensions, the solution of broader issues and the stability of concerned nations.

The Senate, in a resolution adopted October 4 by a vote of 59-0, gave its advice and consent to U.S. accession to the Protocol, and the President signed the instrument of accession on October 15. The Protocol was the only convention relating to human rights to which the United States acceded during 1968.

On October 24 the U.S. Representative told the UNHCR Executive Committee that the United States would shortly accede to the Protocol. This announcement coincided with the Committee's consideration of the role of the UNHCR in relation to the increasing influx of refugees from Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries following the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The U.S. Representative took this occasion to discuss the significance of the Protocol in relation to basic human rights, to reiterate the U.S. position that the legal and political protection function is of overriding importance among the High Commissioner's responsibilities, and to emphasize that effective performance in this field is essential to meaningful effort in UNHCR material assistance programs. He also emphasized that, especially in the light of mounting demands in particular regions for UNHCR material assistance, the dominant importance of international protection in Europe as elsewhere must be kept in the forefront. This position was subsequently reaffirmed by the U.S. delegation to the 23d session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The UNHCR maintains a Legal Assistance Program which is related both to international protection efforts and to the assistance program. Through this program thousands of refugees received specialized legal assistance during 1968, chiefly on individual problems connected with efforts to secure their re-establishment.

The High Commissioner, under agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany, is administering a second indemnification fund provided by the Federal Republic for refugees who were persecuted for reasons of nationality under Hitler's National Socialist regime. The first such fund, amounting to approximately \$11 million, was established in 1960 and prior to 1966 had been disbursed by the UNHCR to some 12,000 national persecutees in 35 countries. With the benefit of interest accrued to the fund, payments to approved claimants averaged about \$1,000 per case. However, persons who had acquired a new nationality before October 1, 1953, or who became refugees after that date were not eligible to apply for benefits under the terms of the 1960 fund. A further grant from the German Government in December 1966 allowed the establishment of a new fund of approximately \$875,000, to benefit national persecutees ineligible for the earlier fund. By the end of 1968 the High Commissioner had received 2,545 applications under this new fund, of which 635 were approved, 1,816 disapproved, and 66 were still in process (28 claims were eliminated through deaths, withdrawals, and the like). By the end of 1968, \$752,265 had been disbursed to successful claimants under the new fund.

THE CURRENT PROGRAM

The Current Program for 1968, as in prior years, was designed to enable the UNHCR to assist in the care and

reestablishment of new refugees, both those within the UNHCR mandate and those assisted under the good offices function. The Current Program concentrates largely on material assistance. It has thus helped reduce the burdens that refugee problems present for countries of asylum, and in particular has proved to be of crucial importance in assisting less developed countries in this respect. A target budget of \$4,631,600 was approved for the 1968 program.

In Europe, during the first 8 months of the year, the rate of influx of newly arriving refugees from Eastern Europe continued at approximately the 1967 level. The Current Program carried out the local integration of many such refugees who did not wish or were unable to emigrate to third countries. In addition, the Program achieved marked success in virtually completing the reestablishment of its small remaining caseload of severely handicapped older refugees. These measures contributed to the continued success, prior to August 21, of the collective international effort to reestablish (especially through overseas resettlement) a sufficient number of the mandate refugees to prevent an increased accumulation in asylum countries. However, the number of Cuban refugees in Spain increased substantially during the year, as the rate of arrivals by air from Cuba greatly exceeded the rate of resettlement in third countries (chiefly the United States).

The invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 21 and the accompanying ferment in other Eastern European countries resulted in a sharp increase in the number of mandate refugees from such countries in the asylum countries of Western Europe. From August 21 to the end of the year more than 20,000 additional refugees from Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries sought asylum in Western European countries and/or assistance in resettlement.

These included many Czechoslovaks who were traveling abroad at the time of the invasion. Thousands of such persons, however, remained undecided on their course of action and by the end of the year had neither opted for asylum nor requested resettlement assistance.

Stating that the flight of thousands of Czechoslovaks since the invasion had stirred the public conscience and brought renewed awareness of the refugee problem in Europe, the U.S. Representative to the 19th session of the Executive Committee noted that these refugees represented only one part of the problem in Europe. In recent years 35-40,000 refugees had left Eastern European countries annually. These, together with the new influx from Eastern Europe, were placing an extraordinarily heavy burden on the host countries and severely taxing refugee migration facilities. He hoped that the High Commissioner would give careful attention to the problem and encouraged him to keep the matter under close review, not only in terms of helping to meet material needs, but also with a view to using the moral influence of his Office in focusing interest on the plight of the refugees, and in helping to assure them the full protection and rights which are so properly the concern of his Office.

The UNHCR, drawing upon his Emergency Fund (see below), made a grant of \$50,000 to the Austrian Government to assist in meeting the costs of caring for Czechoslovak refugees in that country.

In the Far East, UNHCR assistance in the reestablishment of European refugees arriving in Hong Kong remained at a low level during 1968, because, as in 1967, few movements from China took place. Under the good offices function the UNHCR continued to provide selective assistance to Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal, and assistance projects for Chinese refugees in

Macau were renewed, after having been curtailed the previous year due to disturbances which broke out in Macau in early 1967.

In Latin America the 1968 UNHCR program continued to concentrate on working out permanent solutions for aged and otherwise handicapped refugees who had resettled from Europe in earlier years. Such assistance included placing refugees in homes for the aged and helping to establish or maintain such institutions. The UNHCR also continued to provide emergency care on a temporary basis for refugees facing hardship and to assist in the resettlement of a small number of refugees from the Caribbean area.

As in 1967, a preponderant part (58%) of the resources of the 1968 UNHCR Material Assistance Program was allocated for use in Africa. Projects in Africa were designed to reestablish the refugees within the asylum countries, usually in agricultural settlements. The High Commissioner reported in October that most of the African refugees of concern to his Office were no longer dependent on external sources for subsistence, although many were not yet self-supporting. Plans for a regional conference on refugee problems in Africa were under active consideration as the year drew to a close.

The UNHCR continued to provide collective assistance for (1) refugees from Rwanda in Burundi, the Congo (Kinshasa), Tanzania, and Uganda; (2) refugees from the Sudan in the Congo (Kinshasa), Uganda, and the Central African Republic; (3) refugees from Mozambique in Tanzania and Zambia; (4) refugees from Portuguese Guinea in Senegal; (5) refugees from Angola in the Congo (Kinshasa) and Zambia; and (6) refugees from the Congo (Kinshasa) in Burundi, the Central African Republic, Tanzania, and Uganda. Selective assistance was also provided for refugees (especially students) from

South Africa, Namibia, and Southern Rhodesia. In addition, assistance was provided for the first time for refugees from Zambia in the Congo (Kinshasa) and for refugees from the Congo (Kinshasa) and Ethiopia in the Sudan. On separate requests from five African countries of asylum, the UNHCR again made extensive allocations from the Emergency Fund in behalf of African refugees.

During 1968 the Organization for African Unity established a Bureau at Addis Ababa for the placement and education of African refugees seeking higher education. The UNHCR provided technical assistance to this Bureau and financial assistance for the transportation and reestablishment of refugees processed by the Bureau. At the 19th session of the Executive Committee, the U.S. Representative recorded his hearty support of UNHCR initiatives in this field.

Because the victims of the Nigerian conflict are displaced within their own country, they are outside the responsibility of the UNHCR. However, the Office was concerned with the small but growing accumulation of Nigerian refugees in countries neighboring Nigeria. Several governments requested assistance for these refugees, and by the close of 1968 the UNHCR was considering the establishment of an office in the area to deal with this problem.

The United States continued to contribute substantially toward meeting the needs of refugees who are the concern of the UNHCR. In 1968, the United States contributed \$600,000 to the regular UNHCR program as compared with \$400,000 in 1967. In addition, U.S. contributions to meet refugee needs of concern to the UNHCR, but not covered in its regular budget, included \$672,000 in food for refugees in sub-Saharan Africa, some \$3 million for educational assistance to African refugee students, \$1 million in food and

\$2,200,000 in other assistance for Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macau and Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal, approximately \$700,000 for refugees from Eastern European countries, and approximately \$1.3 million to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration for assistance in refugee resettlement. Additionally, the U.S. Government expended more than \$55 million during 1968 in the care and resettlement of Cuban refugees in the United States.

The Executive Committee approved a 1969 program in a total of \$5,681,000, covering allocations for assistance to refugees in more than 40 countries throughout the world.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER U.N. BODIES

Cooperation between the UNHCR and other U.N. organizations, which had been strengthened in recent years, was given even greater attention by the UNHCR in 1968.

Of particular importance was the cooperation between the UNHCR and UNESCO on education for refugees. The U.S. Representative to the Executive Committee exerted special effort to furthering greater UNHCR-UNESCO cooperation and joint planning. By the end of the year the UNESCO General Conference had authorized the assignment of an education expert to UNHCR Headquarters and two associate experts to work in the field coordinating a program in Africa.

The Executive Committee recommended that governments of its member states and other interested governments instruct their representatives on the governing bodies of other organizations in the U.N. system to support the High Commissioner in his efforts to ensure that the needs of refugees are given a priority in the programs of these other agencies.

THE EMERGENCY FUND

The \$500,000 UNHCR Emergency Fund, established by a 1958 General Assembly resolution, is an indispensable instrument of the High Commissioner and is regularly replenished through repayments of refugee housing loans made under previous UNHCR programs. The United States has consistently encouraged the UNHCR to draw upon the Fund for emergency refugee problems that arise between Executive Committee sessions. During 1968 the High Commissioner allocated to governments a total of \$321,770 from the Fund for such purposes. Apart from the \$50,000 allocation to Austria for Czechoslovak refugees (referred to above) all of the 1968 allocations were for assistance projects in Africa.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

On the recommendation of its Third Committee the 23d General Assembly on December 6 unanimously approved a resolution that supported the program of the UNHCR. After noting, *inter alia*, the positive results of the UNHCR work, the resolution requested the High Commissioner to continue to provide international protection and assistance to refugees who were his concern, while giving special attention to new groups of refugees, particularly in Africa. The resolution also urged member states to continue to lend their support to the High Commissioner's humanitarian task, especially by enabling him to reach the financial targets set by his Executive Committee.

On November 15 the General Assembly, by acclamation, reelected Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan of Iran for an additional 5-year term beginning January 1, 1969, as U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

THE COUNTRY APPROACH

UNICEF has adopted the practice of providing assistance to programs for children and youth which have recognized priorities in the development efforts of individual countries. This means that assisted programs have greater stability and more chance of receiving continuing national support after the period of initial international assistance is over.

At the same time the UNICEF Executive Board must assume some responsibility for ensuring that areas of need are not being neglected. A case in point is nutrition, an area of great concern all over the world. However, partly because the long-range basic programs which UNICEF favors are difficult to implement in contrast to "feeding" programs, and partly because projects of aid to education have been so much in demand, UNICEF's efforts to improve nutrition have moved slowly. The most promising approach to eliminating malnutrition appears to be the development of protein-rich foods. UNICEF has already invested in this field and will continue to do so in cooperation with FAO and WHO.

In spite of a positive policy toward aid in family planning, progress in implementing this field was slow in 1968, and the necessary coordination with WHO in developing effective programs will take time. The Government of Sweden made a special contribution to UNICEF of \$600,000 for family planning, which will be used for projects in India and Pakistan. It is anticipated that most of UNICEF's help in this field will be directed toward strengthening the maternal and child health programs which provide a base for operating family planning services.

In view of the limited means at its disposal and the vast needs to be met, the Board has adhered to a policy of careful program evaluation. A long-range schedule of program evaluation has been laid out, with one or two areas reviewed each year. Aid to education, the most recent addition to the UNICEF program, was the subject for major review in 1968.

First included in UNICEF's program in 1961, aid to education grew rapidly until it constituted 27% of all program allocations and was second only to health services. The assessment of UNICEF aid to education was prepared by a panel of outside experts who based their judgment on visits to projects in operation as well as on staff documents. It included recommendations on UNICEF assistance to education made by the Director General of UNESCO and the Executive Director of UNICEF and formed the basis for extensive review and discussion by the Board. There was general agreement on the important role of aid to education in furthering UNICEF's objective of helping governments prepare children to lead useful lives and cope with the problems of a modern world. Ways to strengthen and improve the program were emphasized, and high priority was given to teacher training, the extension and improvement of education in rural areas, and the provision of equal access to education for girls.

Preceding the Board session, the U.S. delegation hosted one-day tours in New York City for the Board members. With the cooperation of the New York City Board of Education, the tours were arranged to new and innovative programs in the disadvantaged areas of the city. The varied programs which the Board members observed included methods

for enriching programs for young children, new methods of teaching science and mathematics, and ways to use auxiliary personnel. The visits provided a fitting background for the 1968 meeting's major focus on aid to education.

EMERGENCY AID

Although UNICEF's early focus on emergency aid to wartorn countries has shifted over the years to long-term aid designed to develop basic services in developing countries, recent events have necessitated the reactivation of its earlier role and reemphasized its unique nonpolitical character. At its June 1968 meeting UNICEF's Executive Board, which had previously provided aid for the Republic of Viet-Nam, requested its Executive Director to exert efforts to meet the needs of all the children of Viet-Nam, using as appropriate the good offices of the International Red Cross. Similarly, the Board approved the expenditure of \$2.4 million of aid for mothers and children on both sides of the fighting in Nigeria. In addition contributions in kind for Nigeria, mostly food and drugs, amounted to \$8.6 million. Thus total UNICEF aid to Nigeria in 1968 amounted to about \$11 million.

VOLUME AND SCOPE OF AID

The assistance level in 1968 was \$49,309,413 in program commitments and \$38,133,413 in allocations. Percentages going to different categories remained approximately stable, a little less going to health and nutrition in 1968 and a little more to education. UNICEF aid now goes to almost 500 projects in 119 countries and is matched by about \$2.50 from assisted governments for every \$1 provided by UNICEF.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

Though UNICEF's resources are

inadequate in comparison to the vast needs of the world's children, encouraging progress is being made toward increasing these resources. The ambitious goal of a \$50 million budget by 1970 seemed doubtful of attainment when set in 1966, but it may become reality. In 1968 the United States pledged \$12 million subject to the provision that this amount should not exceed 40% of total governmental contributions. Several countries increased their contributions substantially during the year, most notably Sweden which not only raised its contribution but by parliamentary action made a 3-year forward pledge of increasing support, in addition to its special contribution for family planning.

Private contributions also continued to increase. About 25% of UNICEF's income presently comes from nongovernmental sources, and U.S. citizens continued their strong support. In 1968 some 3½ million children in 13,000 U.S. communities collected about \$3 million during the Halloween Trick or Treat campaign. In addition, net proceeds from the sale of greeting cards in the United States added almost another \$3 million.

One of the outstanding characteristics of UNICEF has been its ability to adapt its administrative structure and procedures to accommodate changing needs. Changed procedures have been especially effective in fund raising. For example, increased revenue has resulted from permitting national committees to "adopt" UNICEF projects as their own. The Executive Director is also authorized now to accept contributions earmarked for particular program categories or fields of assistance in which the Board regularly approves projects. This policy greatly facilitates the collection of funds for emergency aid.

Scientific Cooperation

International cooperation in scientific fields occurs in many parts of the U.N. system. This particular section presents a brief review of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, and those scientific interests and activities of ECOSOC and the General Assembly that are not dealt with elsewhere in the present report.

Other sections containing extensive material on scientific cooperation are those on Outer Space (p. 17), Seabed and Ocean Floor (p. 19), FAO (p. 142), UNESCO (p. 147), WHO (p. 151), ITU (p. 157), WMO (p. 161), and IAEA (p. 163).

Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development

The Advisory Committee is composed of 18 experts serving in their personal capacities. Dr. Carroll L. Wilson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been a member since the Committee was created by ECOSOC in 1963 to keep under review the progress made in the application of science and technology to development.

The Committee held two meetings during 1968—its ninth, in New York April 1-11, and its tenth, in Vienna November 25-December 6.

NATURAL RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

At its 10th session the Committee approved its second in a series of major reports dealing with specific problems for concerted attack by the international community. The first report in this series, dealing

with the protein problem, appeared in 1967. The second, entitled "Natural Resources of Developing Countries: Investigation, Development and Rational Utilization," was submitted to ECOSOC for consideration at its 46th session in 1969.

The report is intended as a practical guide to developing countries on the action they may take to appraise and devise systematic plans for the development of their natural resources and to obtain international help in exploiting and protecting them. The report recommends specific actions in six areas:

- (1) creation and/or improvement of national scientific and technical services;

- (2) systematic development of surveys and resource analyses;

- (3) expansion and improvement of scientific and technical research activities;

- (4) strengthening of programs for scientific and technological training;

- (5) pilot projects for utilizing natural resources; and

- (6) industrialization programs based on utilization of local resources.

The Committee prepared the report in cooperation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies and with the assistance of distinguished scientists in various aspects of natural resources development, including a number of Americans.

WORLD PLAN OF ACTION

In 1966 ECOSOC requested the Committee to draw up a World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development. In order to determine those areas where gaps or imbalances exist, ECOSOC asked all interested organizations in the U.N. system to prepare and submit to the Committee by January 1, 1968, detailed statements on the extent to which their current or planned activities

would accelerate the application of science and technology to the development of the less developed countries.

Upon receipt of the requested information the Committee determined that the implementation of the World Plan should coincide with the Second Development Decade, beginning in 1971, and that the Plan should focus upon the following broad fields of activity:

- (1) policies and institutions for science and technology;
- (2) natural resources;
- (3) food and agriculture;
- (4) industry;
- (5) transport and telecommunications;
- (6) housing and urban planning;
- (7) health;
- (8) education; and
- (9) population.

The final details of the plan, to be developed during 1969, will present indicative targets for action by organizations within the U.N. system and by individual countries

SCIENCE EDUCATION

The Committee had begun work on science education during 1967. At its ninth session it decided to convene in 1969, in cooperation with UNESCO, a Working Party on Improvement of Science Education to develop specific recommendations for a long-term worldwide program to improve science education, particularly in the developing countries.

POPULATION PROBLEMS

At its ninth session the Committee decided to commission a report summarizing the present situation in the field of population research with a view to identifying important scientific gaps in existing efforts. In response to this decision the Carolina Population Center of the University of North Carolina prepared a report, "Approaches to the Human Fertility Problem." As a result of its considera-

tion of this report at its 10th session, the Committee decided to undertake a study in depth of two aspects of the problem:

(1) the fields in which greater scientific effort was most urgently required; and

(2) the possible need for machinery within the U.N. family to maintain an overall view of population problems and policies.

The Committee asked the U.N. Secretariat, WHO, and other agencies concerned to prepare a joint report outlining possibilities for greatly expanded and intensified activities in such areas as population statistics; social and economic dynamics relevant to population policies; biological and health aspects of reproduction and fertility control; motivation, communication, and educational aspects of the population question; and organizational and logistic aspects of family planning programs in specific countries.

U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

UNSCEAR,¹ established by the General Assembly in 1955 to foster and maintain continuing scientific evaluation of data concerning the effects of ionizing radiation upon man and his environment, held its 18th session in New York, April 8-17.

At this session UNSCEAR continued its discussion begun in 1967 of the assumptions and parameters used in estimating dose commitments, recent information on radioactive contamination of the environment by nuclear tests, the effects of ionizing radiation on the nervous system, and radiation-induced chromosome

¹ Members are Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States.

anomalies in man. The Committee expressed its intention of preparing a report dealing with such evaluations of risk as might result from its consideration of these subjects and submitting it to the 24th General Assembly in 1969. (The Committee has submitted two comprehensive reports, in 1958 and 1962 respectively, and more specialized reports in 1964 and 1966.) The Committee also reviewed the data that it needed to assess levels of radiation from nuclear tests and decided to ask the states members of the United Nations, specialized agencies, or IAEA for the information it required.

On October 21 the Special Political Committee of the 24th General Assembly considered UNSCEAR's report and approved unanimously a resolution sponsored by the United States and 16 other countries that commended UNSCEAR for the valuable contributions it has made to man's wider knowledge and understanding of the effects and levels of atomic radiation; drew the attention of member states to the review of information required to continue the Committee's assessment of worldwide levels of radiation from nuclear tests; requested UNSCEAR to complete its current program of work and to draw up plans for its future activities; and noted the intention of UNSCEAR to hold its 19th session in May 1969 and to report further to the Assembly. The General Assembly unanimously approved the resolution on November 1.

Marine Resources

ECOSOC

Two reports on the resources of the sea were issued by the U.N. Secretary-General in 1968 in response to resolutions adopted in 1966 by ECOSOC and the General

Assembly as the result of U.S. initiatives.

The first report, requested by ECOSOC, was "Resources of the Sea Beyond the Continental Shelf." It was in two parts: the first dealt with Mineral Resources of the Sea Beyond the Continental Shelf, and the second with Food Resources of the Sea Beyond the Continental Shelf Excluding Fish. On August 2 the 45th ECOSOC unanimously adopted a resolution noting with satisfaction the report, which provided a preliminary picture of the available knowledge of marine resources beyond the continental shelf, the techniques used for their development, and related problems. ECOSOC requested the Secretary-General to follow closely any new developments with respect to the exploration, evaluation, and exploitation of marine mineral resources beyond the continental shelf, and to report further when appropriate. ECOSOC also invited the FAO to keep under review any developments in the field of food resources of the sea beyond the continental shelf.

The second report, requested by the 21st General Assembly, was "Marine Science and Technology: Survey and Proposals." During the 45th ECOSOC's consideration of this report, the United States proposed a resolution which would endorse the International Decade of Ocean Exploration. ECOSOC unanimously adopted a resolution that in addition to transmitting the report on marine science and technology to the General Assembly for its consideration invited the Assembly to endorse "the concept of a coordinated long-term program of oceanographic research" which would take into account "such initiatives as the proposal for an international decade of Ocean Exploration" and other programs already adopted by the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission.

In a third resolution, also adopted unanimously, ECOSOC noted that one of the main obstacles to the development of marine science and technology was the shortage of experts and qualified personnel, particularly in the developing countries. Since it believed that the fundamentals of marine science should be taught at a pre-university level, ECOSOC requested UNESCO to study the appropriate means for increasing knowledge of the sea and its resources as part of secondary education programs.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL OCEANOGRAPHIC COMMISSION (IOC)

On the initiative of the United States, the IOC Bureau and Consultative Council at its June meeting in London endorsed the concept of an expanded, accelerated, long-term, and sustained program to explore the oceans and their resources. This program would include international projects planned and coordinated on a worldwide basis, expanded international exchange of data from national programs, and international efforts to strengthen the research capabilities of all interested nations.

The Council asked the IOC chairman to inform the U.N. Secretary-General that the IOC was prepared to play a leading role in the planning, development, implementation, and coordination of such an expanded program.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 23d General Assembly considered aspects of marine resources in both its First (Political and Security) and Second (Economic and Financial) Committees.

The United States introduced the proposal for an International Decade of Ocean Exploration in the First Committee on November 1. It had previously been discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Committee to Study the Peaceful

Uses of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. (See p. 22.) In its presentation the United States emphasized the need for international cooperation in exploration of the seabed and noted that all information developed during the Decade would be made public and available to all countries. In the course of the subsequent discussion, the U.S. draft resolution was amended to give greater consideration to the interests of the developing countries. On December 20 the First Committee adopted the draft resolution welcoming the concept of an International Decade of Ocean Exploration by a vote of 100 to 0, with 2 abstentions. On December 21 the plenary adopted the Committee text without objection.

In this resolution the Assembly requested that the Decade be undertaken under the aegis of the United Nations, with the understanding that all activities coming under the national jurisdiction of a state would, in accordance with international law, be subject to the prior consent of that state.

The Assembly invited member states to develop proposals for activities to be undertaken during the Decade, to transmit these proposals to UNESCO for the IOC in time to begin the Decade in 1970, and to begin such activities as soon as practicable. It also urged states to publish the results of activities undertaken during the Decade and at the same time to communicate these results to the IOC.

The IOC, in turn, was asked to keep the U.N. Secretary-General informed of the above proposals, programs, and activities, with such comments as it might consider appropriate. The IOC was also asked to intensify its activities in the scientific field, to cooperate with the Secretary-General in the preparation of a "comprehensive outline of the scope of the long-term program of

oceanographic research" (called for in a separate resolution adopted December 17, see below), and to report to the 24th General Assembly on progress made in implementing the present resolution.

On December 11 Belgium, on behalf of 18 states, introduced in the Second Committee a draft resolution on international cooperation on questions related to the oceans. The Committee approved the resolution without objection on December 12, and the Assembly adopted it, also without objection, on December 17.

In this resolution the Assembly requested the U.N. Secretary-General to present to the 47th ECOSOC in 1969 a comprehensive outline of the scope of the long-term program of oceanographic research, taking into account such scientific recommendations as might be formulated by the IOC.

In other operative paragraphs the Assembly (1) recommended that UNESCO and its IOC consider strengthening existing marine educational and training programs and initiating new ones; (2) recommended more international cooperation on fisheries development and conservation, taking into account the important role played by FAO and its Committee on Fisheries as well as other specialized fishery bodies; (3) called upon the WMO to continue its activities with respect to the meteorological aspects of ocean science; and (4) invited member states and organizations dealing with marine pollution, especially IMCO and the IAEA, to promote the adoption of effective international agreements on prevention and control of marine pollution.

The U.N. Secretary-General was asked to prepare, in cooperation with the organizations concerned, a progress report on the implementation of these activities and to submit it to ECOSOC and the 25th Assembly in 1970.

Hydrology

On the initiative of the United States, the 13th General Conference of UNESCO in 1964 endorsed the International Hydrological Decade (IHD) which came into being on January 1, 1965. The program of the IHD is a concerted international effort to fulfill one of the dominant needs of the world—a better knowledge of the occurrence and distribution of water for the use of man. The IHD involves the hydrographic activities of some 100 participating countries, specialized agencies (UNESCO, FAO, WMO, WHO), the IAEA, and nongovernmental bodies such as the International Council of Scientific Unions and the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage.

COORDINATING COUNCIL

The United States is a member of the IHD's 21-nation Coordinating Council which held its fourth session at UNESCO headquarters in Paris May 6-15.

In reviewing the IHD program the Council agreed that there should be continuing attention to the creation of networks of observation stations to collect data on water quality, sediment transport, ground water, and soil moisture, and decided that of these four, priority should be given to ground water studies. Countries that already had significant networks for collecting data in these four fields were asked to analyze them and provide suggestions on effective criteria for the planning and design of additional networks.

The core of the IHD scientific program is the improvement of the hydrological assessment of information on the world's water balance. The Council directed its working group on this subject to complete

during 1969 a world review of literature on the water balance, and urged it to prepare recommendations for the development of methodology for world water balance computations.

The Council also reviewed the work of its Panel on Systems for Acquisition, Transmission, and Processing of Hydrological Data. The purpose of the Panel is to provide an overview of the various mechanisms for handling hydrological data, from the simplest to the most complex, so that each country may evaluate its own capabilities and improve its own system. The Council requested the Panel to undertake a technical study to evaluate the relative effectiveness of different systems as they would apply to developing countries.

One of the prime objectives of the Decade is the encouragement of regional cooperation on water problems common to two or more countries. Some of the more noteworthy of these projects, from various areas, are (1) an inventory of hydrological and meteorological information on La Plata River basin, undertaken by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay; (2) the International Field Year for the Great Lakes, sponsored jointly by Canada and the United States; (3) the series of scientific hydrological symposia organized by Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan through the CENTO economic program (which the United States also takes part in); (4) the development of the Mekong River basin in Southeast Asia, supported by many nations (including the United States); and (5) the evaluation of the underground water resources of the Taoudeni basin, undertaken by Mauritania, Upper Volta, and Mali.

The Council recommended, and UNESCO subsequently approved at its 15th General Conference, the convening of a conference in October 1969—the midpoint of the IHD—

on Practical and Scientific Results of the IHD and on International Cooperation in Hydrology. UNESCO further decided that the conference would consider three main subjects: (1) a review of the work accomplished during the first half of the IHD; (2) preparation and proposals for the second half of the IHD; and (3) exchange of views on a long-term plan of action in the field of hydrology.

BUREAU OF THE COORDINATING COUNCIL

The Bureau of the Coordinating Council, consisting of the Chairman (France), two Vice Chairmen (Brazil, Romania), and the Secretary (UNESCO staff), held its sixth session in Paris December 18–20. Representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, and U.S.S.R. also took part.

The Bureau decided to ask the IHD National Committees to provide a brief résumé of their past achievements and a statement of their national objectives for the second half of the Decade. With respect to cooperation beyond 1974, it was agreed that only questions of principle should be discussed during the mid-decade conference; any long-term plan of action should be prepared only after an exchange of views and discussion of all proposals during the conference. The Bureau also agreed that there was a continuing need for long-term international cooperation in hydrology. However, the question remained of the best forum for organizing this cooperation. The Bureau asked the IHD Secretary to prepare a draft declaration of principles containing proposed objectives for international cooperation. When ready, the draft will be sent to the National Committees for comment.

Finally, the Bureau decided that the sixth session of the Coordinating

Council would convene immediately following the conclusion of the mid-decade conference to review the decisions taken at that conference.

Problems of Human Environment

There was increasing U.N. interest and concern in 1968 in problems relating to the human environment and the harmful side effects that technological change can have on it. A greater awareness that environment has finite limits and that pollution of air, water, and land resources will have increasingly adverse effects on man's future capability to enjoy an ever-increasing level of economic and social well-being—or perhaps even to survive—stimulated ECOSOC, UNESCO, and the General Assembly to consider and propose new U.N. activity in the field of environmental pollution.

ECOSOC

Sweden raised the question of convening an international conference on problems of the human environment at the 44th session of ECOSOC in May, and, in anticipation of subsequent ECOSOC discussion, the U.N. Secretariat prepared a report on activities of U.N. organizations relevant to this topic.

At its 45th session, in July, ECOSOC unanimously endorsed a resolution proposing that the General Assembly consider the desirability of convening a U.N. Conference on Problems of Human Environment. It also recommended that the Secretary-General be asked to submit to the 47th session of ECOSOC in 1969 a report on:

(1) the scope and progress of work already being done by national and international organizations on the main problems of the human environment, and the principal

areas that require international cooperation;

(2) the areas in the human environment field that might with particular advantage be considered at an international conference; and

(3) a suggested work program for such a conference.

UNESCO

The increasing concern over the quality of the human environment led UNESCO to convene in Paris September 4-13 the Intergovernmental Conference of Experts on the Scientific Basis for the Rational Use and Conservation of the Resources of the Biosphere. The Conference was attended by some 250 scientists from 62 countries (including the United States) and 69 observers from various scientific organizations. The objective of the Conference, which was organized in cooperation with the United Nations, FAO, and WHO, was to show how modern science could help develop rational methods for the use and preservation of the resources of the biosphere—living beings together with environment. The Conference agenda thus covered that part of the world in which life can exist and was concentrated essentially on terrestrial resources—including inland waters, but excluding oceanic areas. One general conclusion of the Conference was that while much remained to be done before all the problems involved in the rational use of the earth's resources could be answered, at the same time much of what was already known had not been properly applied. Recommendations were made for greater emphasis on environmental problems in national planning and policies. In light of the Conference recommendations and proceedings, UNESCO began a re-evaluation of its program in the environmental field and invited its Director General to submit a revised program to the 16th General Conference in 1970. The Biosphere Con-

ference also endorsed the action of ECOSOC in calling for an international conference on the problems of human environment.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The United States was an active advocate at the 23d General Assembly for the convening of a U.N. conference on this subject. In his speech before the Assembly on October 2 Secretary of State Rusk expressed the hope that the United Nations would break new ground "in a field of growing importance to mankind" and stated that the U.S. Government enthusiastically supported the initiative of Sweden "to make the problems of the human environment a new and major concern of the community of nations." Secretary Rusk was thus following up the proposal made by President Johnson at the Glassboro State College (New Jersey) commencement exercises on June 4 in which he urged scientists from all nations to form an international council on the human environment.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Wiggins, stated on December 3 in the plenary session of the Assembly:

For the first time, we are brought face to face with the stark facts that space upon this planet is finite, that the resources of this planet are exhaustible and not easily renewed. . . . We have not much time left in which to learn to proportion our population to available resources and to become good enough trustees of our inherited wealth of air, water, earth, and forms of life so that our posterity may hope to survive in a condition better than bestial struggle.

He pointed out that as pollution was no respecter of nations, cultures, or economic systems, it was a proper subject for international concern and cooperation.

On December 3 the General Assembly adopted without objection a resolution, introduced by Sweden and sponsored by 55 countries including the United States, that decided to convene in 1972 a U.N. Conference on the Human Environ-

ment. The resolution requested the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its 24th session through ECOSOC at its 47th session a report concerning (1) the scope and progress of programs at present being done in the field of human environment; (2) the main problems facing developed and developing countries in this area that might with particular advantage be considered by an international conference; and (3) a suggested work program for the conference.

Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

In December 1967 the General Assembly approved the holding of a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, but noted that the conference should be shorter than those held in 1955, 1958, and 1964 and that the subject matter should be of interest to public officials, economists, and planners as well as technologists. The resolution further requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee, in cooperation with the IAEA, and in consultation with appropriate specialized agencies, to prepare plans for the conference and to report to the General Assembly at its 23d session.

Following the consultations requested by the General Assembly, the Secretary-General recommended, *inter alia*, that:

(1) the Fourth International Conference be convened in Geneva in 1971;

(2) the thematic title of the Conference be "Benefits for mankind from peaceful uses of atomic energy";

(3) the conference last 8 or 9 working days;

(4) the IAEA be responsible for the scientific aspects of the Conference and the U.N. office in Geneva be responsible for the administrative aspects;

(5) the size of delegations be reduced by one-third in comparison with the Third Conference; and

(6) the detailed agenda be the subject of further consultation with the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee.

On December 16 the 23d General

Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution cosponsored by the United States, Canada, France, India, and the United Kingdom, which endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendations and requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance and cooperation of the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee and the IAEA and in consultation with the appropriate specialized agencies, to undertake detailed preparations for the Conference and to report on these preparations to the General Assembly at its 24th session.

Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Accession to Protocol on Refugees

The most important development in the human rights field for the United States during 1968, the International Year for Human Rights, was its accession to the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. (For details see the section on the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, p. 107.) This was the second human rights convention in 2 years to which the United States has become a party. In 1967 the United States acceded to the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery.

Human Rights Year

The General Assembly in 1963 designated 1968, the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as

"International Year for Human Rights." In 1966 the Assembly recommended that all members proclaim Human Rights Year and undertake a wide variety of activities to commemorate the Universal Declaration. For the United Nations itself, the major event was the International Conference on Human Rights held in Tehran April 22-May 13. In addition the various bodies concerned with human rights met as usual: the Commission on the Status of Women held its 21st session in New York, January 29-February 19; the Commission on Human Rights held its 24th session in New York, February 5-March 12; and the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities held its 21st session in Geneva, October 7-25. Recommendations from these bodies, as well as from the Tehran Conference, were considered later by ECOSOC at its 44th session and by the General Assembly.

Attention centered particularly on violations of human rights, in-

cluding measures to deal with apartheid and other gross denials of racial equality; the final eradication of slavery; the prevention and punishment of war crimes and crimes against humanity; the rights of civilians in occupied territories and in armed conflicts; the advancement of women; the achievement of economic and social rights, especially in developing countries; and work programs to promote understanding and respect for individual dignity and freedom.

ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

On January 30 President Johnson established the President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year 1968, and appointed W. Averell Harriman Chairman of the Commission and Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Halsted Vice Chairman. The Commission was composed of 11 distinguished citizens from public life and the heads of 7 government agencies.¹

The Commission was directed to "enlarge our people's understanding of the principles of human rights, as expressed in the Universal Declaration and the Constitution and in the laws of the United States." To carry out this mandate it created eight special committees representing different sectors of the public and urged all levels of government agencies as well as civic organizations to use part of their resources to commemorate the year and to take new initiatives in the promotion and protection of human rights.

¹ W. Averell Harriman, Anna Roosevelt Halsted, Bruno V. Bitker, Tom C. Clark, Elinor L. Gordon, J. Willis Hurst, Ralph E. McGill, George Meany, Robert B. Meyner, A. Philip Randolph, Maurice Tempelsman, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Staff Director for the Commission on Civil Rights, and the Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The Commission scheduled three conferences. The first, a seminar of 20 leaders in education, discussed "Racism and American Education: Imperatives for Change." The second, a symposium of 40 American and foreign experts, considered "Human Rights and the Quest for Peace: National Responsibility." The third, a National Conference on Continuing Action for Human Rights, was attended by some 400 representatives of many different sectors of the public. President Johnson, Chief Justice Warren, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League addressed this Conference.

The Commission gave special attention to U.N. human rights conventions, six of which had been transmitted to the Senate with a view to obtaining advice and consent to ratification, and expressed the hope that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate would at the earliest possible time give favorable consideration to those pending.

A complete record of the Commission's activities was included in an interim report and a final report to the President.

Many other activities, both official and unofficial, were undertaken to celebrate the Year. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare sent kits of materials to 100,000 primary and secondary schools and more elaborate kits to some 18,000 social science teachers; the Post Office issued a commemorative aerogramme; and the Department of State taped talks by four Commission members for distribution to 900 radio stations, the Voice of America, and the Armed Forces Network. Perhaps even more significant were the many thousands of programs of all kinds sponsored by civic organizations across the country—churches, synagogues, clubs, youth groups, schools, colleges, and many others.

The Commission and many other groups emphasized the theme that Human Rights Year should not just

commemorate past achievements but should be used to formulate ideas and procedures for the future. In its final report to the President the Commission offered conclusions and recommendations about continuing action in this field for consideration by the new administration.

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS PRIZES

One special event undertaken by the United Nations for Human Rights Year was the award of a limited number of prizes to leaders who had contributed to the promotion of human rights since the beginning of the United Nations in 1945. Members were invited to submit nominations, and the selection jury was composed of the 1968 presidents or chairmen of the U.N. bodies dealing with human rights—General Assembly, ECOSOC, Human Rights Commission, Status of Women Commission, and Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. During a commemorative meeting of the General Assembly on December 9 the President of the Assembly awarded the prizes—plaques bearing the U.N. seal—to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Manuel Bianchi of Chile, Prof. Rene Cassin of France, Mrs. Mehranguiz Manoutchehrian of Iran, Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa, and Petr Emelyanovich Nedbailo of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Mrs. Roosevelt was awarded the prize in recognition of her leadership in developing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights while she was Chairman of the Human Rights Commission.

TEHRAN CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Representatives of 84 states, 3 U.N. bodies, 4 specialized agencies, 4 regional intergovernmental organizations, and 48 nongovernmental organizations were participants or observers at the International Conference on Human Rights which convened in Tehran in April. The

U.S. delegation was led by Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

U.N. Secretary-General U Thant opened the session with a major review of U.N. achievements and potentials in the field of human rights. The Shah of Iran welcomed the delegates, and his sister, Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, was elected Conference president. The United States was elected one of 18 vice presidents, and thus served also as a member of the Conference's General Committee.

The Conference had three major tasks: to evaluate progress in the field of human rights over the last two decades; to evaluate the effectiveness of methods used by the United Nations in this field; and to prepare a program of further measures. The agenda also included an item on respect for and implementation of human rights in occupied territories, which was added on the proposal of three Arab states.

In preparing for the Conference the United Nations had developed a number of special studies of long-term importance. These included analyses of U.N. measures and methods to advance human rights; analytical reports by each of the specialized agencies on its pertinent programs and activities; a one-volume compilation of U.N. human rights declarations and conventions; and studies by individual consultants on such topics as family responsibility in relation to population increase, the economic foundations of human rights, implementation machinery, and the advancement of women. One of these studies, "Civil and Political Rights in the Context of Development Assistance," was prepared by a U.S. consultant, Prof. Walter K. Laves, who emphasized the role of the public administrator in building a stable, well-informed society ready to support progressive change. Other reports were prepared by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and other inter-

governmental bodies engaged in human rights work.

Early in the Conference Mr. Wilkins provided a useful analysis of the difficulties in the way of advancing human rights when he pointed out, *inter alia*:

In part the problem is the unlimited claim of national sovereignty. I submit that under the United Nations Charter no nation is entitled to wrong its own citizens. Either the Charter provisions dealing with human rights have meaning or they are a cruel fraud. If these provisions are meaningful, they must carry their thrust into the boundaries of member states.

The Conference adopted some 28 substantive resolutions including five on racial and other types of discrimination and related practices; three related specifically to southern Africa and apartheid; and one each on such topics as respect for human rights in occupied territories; colonialism; economic development; economic, social, and cultural rights; disarmament; women's rights; rights of the child; refugees; education of youth; illiteracy; family planning; legal aid; rights of detained persons; protection of human rights in armed conflicts; impact on human rights of scientific and technological developments; and adherence to international instruments on human rights. The Conference also transmitted to competent U.N. bodies for their study a series of proposals and draft resolutions that the Conference had not had time to consider fully.

The prime accomplishment of the Conference was the unanimous adoption of the "Proclamation of Tehran," which reaffirmed the solemn obligation of all members of the international community to promote and encourage human rights, and recognized that the Universal Declaration reflected the continuing and common understanding of the peoples of the world on the nature of that obligation. It referred to the problems of apartheid and colonialism, neither of which had been a major issue at the time the Universal

Declaration was drafted. It also recognized that family planning was a human right when it said that "Parents have a basic human right to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children," thus carrying further the guarantees in article 16 of the Universal Declaration on the right "to found a family."

The United States played a major role in formulating the content of the Proclamation and in the negotiations that led up to its adoption. In a final statement on behalf of the United States, Acting Delegation Chairman David H. Popper said:

No delegation has obtained precisely what it would have liked to have had approved today. Every group has had to sacrifice some points to which it attaches importance. . . . Our ability to reach agreement on matters of major, indeed passionate concern demonstrates that international cooperation in the cause of humanity can be and must be an effective force.

In closing the Conference on May 13 Princess Ashraf hailed the Proclamation as an expression of "our unanimous will to . . . achieve the complete and general realization of human rights, and to eliminate once and for all, the scourges of illiteracy, racism, violence, hunger and disease"

Violations of Human Rights

SOUTHERN AFRICA

During its 24th session the Human Rights Commission gave first consideration to the problems of apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

The Special Rapporteur appointed in 1967, Manouchehr Ganji of Iran, presented a study of South African legislation in relation to each of the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The study indicated that in the Republic of South Africa whites as well as nonwhites

were increasingly subject to gross violations of the rights and freedoms inherent in respect for human dignity, freedom of movement, fair trial, and choice of employment, and that they suffered heavy penalties for protest against unjust and discriminatory laws. In parallel studies the Special Rapporteur traced the growing application of apartheid in Namibia (South-West Africa) and Southern Rhodesia. He recommended that the Government of South Africa be requested to repeal, amend, and replace all discriminatory laws; that information media, organizations, trade unions, churches, libraries, schools, and other agencies in all countries publicize the evils of apartheid; and that the United Nations keep the matter under constant review.

Twelve African and Asian members sponsored a resolution that, *inter alia*, endorsed the Rapporteur's recommendations. Although the United States voted for parts of the resolution (which was adopted by a vote of 26 to 0, with 6 abstentions), it abstained on the resolution as a whole because it included a call for economic sanctions against South Africa. The United States also opposed the inclusion of a request to the Secretary-General to establish a special U.N. information center in South Africa, on the ground that it was not realistic to expect cooperation from South African authorities in a project intended to arouse opposition to official policies.

In a separate resolution the Commission requested the Rapporteur to continue his work and report again to the 25th session.

The Commission considered separately the situation of political prisoners in South Africa. The *ad hoc* working group of experts set up in 1967 reported on its examination of persons detained by the government because they had opposed, or been judged guilty of violating, apartheid laws. Although the working group, composed of Commission members

from Austria, Peru, Senegal, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia, had been denied entrance to South Africa, it had conducted hearings in neighboring countries and in London. In addition to examining documentary evidence the group had heard 25 witnesses, whose statements had been recorded in extensive summary records.

On February 20 the Commission unanimously adopted a resolution that (1) reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle against apartheid; (2) condemned every practice of torture and inhuman and degrading treatment of the prisoners; and (3) called upon South Africa to investigate conditions, indemnify those who had suffered damage, abolish the laws under which opponents of apartheid were detained without charge or trial and other laws incorporating the apartheid principle, and to release all political prisoners and others held because of their opposition to apartheid.

In supporting the resolution the U.S. Representative again denounced apartheid and race discrimination as abhorrent to the laws of the United States and to the American people.

The 44th ECOSOC on May 31 endorsed the resolution unanimously, and the 23d General Assembly endorsed it on December 19 by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

In a separate resolution the Commission asked the working group to continue its work and to enlarge the scope of its investigations to include Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories.

Early in the Commission's session reports were received of the sentences imposed by South Africa on more than 30 Namibians who had been arrested under South Africa's Terrorism Act (see p. 192). On February 9 the Commission adopted a consensus protesting the sentences as illegal, noting that the General Assembly had terminated South Africa's

mandate over Namibia, calling upon South Africa to release the prisoners immediately, and asking the Secretary-General to bring its views to the attention of the South African Government.

On February 29, when news was received of a second trial of eight Namibians, the Commission adopted a second consensus condemning South Africa for the illegal trial and urging organizations and world public opinion to exert all their influence to prevent the continued implementation of the Terrorism Act.

In March the Commission condemned the execution of African prisoners in Southern Rhodesia (see p. 205), which it described as an "outrageous act on the part of the illegal regime" and a "flagrant and gross violation" of the human rights of the African people. It also sent telegrams to the United Kingdom on March 8 and 12 urging it to take urgent and effective action to stop further killings and obtain the release of the political prisoners and freedom fighters.

MIDDLE EAST

Arab delegations in the Commission charged that the inhabitants of Israeli-occupied territories were also suffering violations of their human rights. After a lengthy debate, the Commission on February 27 unanimously adopted a resolution that noted with appreciation the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and General Assembly regarding human rights in the territories occupied as a result of the Middle East hostilities, and affirmed the right of all inhabitants displaced by the hostilities to return to their own country. It further affirmed that the government concerned should take the necessary measures to facilitate this return without delay. The Israeli Representative on the Commission took no part in this action.

At the Tehran Conference the Arab delegations joined in a more

far-reaching proposal which included a request that the General Assembly appoint a special committee to investigate violations of human rights in the Israeli-occupied territories. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 42 to 5 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions. The United States opposed the resolution because it was directed only to Israel and made no provision for the rights of persons in other areas jeopardized by the Middle East conflict.

The 44th ECOSOC on May 31 unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the Commission's action, but the General Assembly on December 19 by a vote of 60 to 22 (U.S.), with 37 abstentions, decided to establish the special committee requested by the Tehran Conference "to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories."

CHARGES OF VIOLATIONS ELSEWHERE

At its 1967 session the Commission had requested the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to assist in identifying situations that might involve a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights. The Subcommittee had discussed the request during its October 1967 meeting and recommended that the 1968 session of the Commission study the situations in Greece and Haiti in this regard. The recommendation was opposed by the Greek Representative and the Haitian observers at the Commission, who defended the record of their respective governments. The recommendation was also opposed by African members who felt that consideration of violations should be limited to southern Africa.

The United States defended the right of both the Commission and the Subcommittee to consider alleged violations in any country and with regard to any rights recognized in the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights. After lengthy debate Tanzania and the United States agreed to withdraw conflicting proposals they had advanced for Commission action, thus leaving the original 1967 directive in force.

When it met in October 1968 the Subcommission decided to begin with more extensive study of the communications on human rights received by the United Nations from private individuals and groups in order to direct attention to any that appeared to reveal a consistent pattern of violations. It appointed a working group of three of its members to sift the communications in advance of its next session and select those which appeared useful for study by the full membership. It also developed, for consideration by the Commission and ECOSOC, a long-term procedure which would provide for the investigation of serious allegations by an *ad hoc* committee "to be appointed by the Council after obtaining the consent of the state concerned to the investigation being pursued."

Nazism

One of the problems in resolutions condemning nazism has been the insistence by the sponsors that governments be urged to outlaw Nazi, racist, and similar organizations and to prosecute membership as a crime. The United States and other free-speech countries have objected and voted against paragraphs containing such provisions. To achieve unanimity, amendments have been accepted stating that any such action should be taken "with due regard to the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

In supporting this addition, U.S. delegations have referred regularly to article 19 of the Universal Declaration which states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion

and expression . . . and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas," and also to article 20 which recognizes the right to peaceful assembly and association.

The sponsors have referred to other provisions of the Declaration, including articles 1 and 2 which call for equal dignity and rights for all without discrimination, and articles 29 and 30 which state that the rights and freedoms recognized in the Declaration may not be exercised contrary to the purposes of the United Nations, or be interpreted to justify acts aimed at the destruction of other recognized rights and freedoms.

The United States abstained on the resolution adopted by the Human Rights Commission on March 8 on the ground that it was largely a repetition of the action of the previous year and the General Assembly should not be burdened with duplication. However the United States supported a similar text later at the Tehran Conference which was adopted unanimously. The 44th ECOSOC subsequently endorsed the resolution of the Human Rights Commission, and the 23d General Assembly adopted it with minor changes on December 19 by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 1, with no abstentions.

Slavery

The 44th ECOSOC received draft resolutions on the eradication of slavery from both the Status of Women Commission and the Human Rights Commission.

In 1967 the 42d ECOSOC had asked the Status of Women Commission to formulate specific proposals for measures which the United Nations could adopt to eradicate all forms and practices of slavery affecting women. As a result, on February 12 the Commission at its 21st session adopted a resolution spon-

sored by the United States, that in its final form recommended that ECOSOC condemn slavery, the slavery-like practices of apartheid and colonialism, and the slave trade; request member states to give protection to all persons escaping from slavery; request the Secretary-General to organize seminars on the question; and request the specialized agencies to consider how they could assist in the rehabilitation of women and girls freed from slavery. The resolution also asked the views of member states on further measures to implement the slavery conventions of 1926 and 1956, and appealed to all member states to become parties to the conventions on slavery, on the suppression of traffic in persons and prostitution, and on consent to marriage, minimum age for marriage, and registration of marriages.

On May 31 ECOSOC approved the resolution by a vote of 26 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

The Human Rights Commission incorporated its recommendations, based on earlier consideration by the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in a draft resolution adopted on March 8 by a vote of 27 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions. It recommended, *inter alia*, that (1) the Subcommission undertake a study of possible measures to implement the slavery conventions and the various recommendations of the General Assembly, ECOSOC, and Human Rights Commission relating to "the slavery-like practices of apartheid and colonialism"; (2) the Subcommission initiate a study on the possibilities of international police cooperation to interrupt the transportation of persons in danger of being enslaved; and (3) the Secretary-General establish a list of experts in economic, sociological, legal, and other relevant disciplines whose advice would be available to governments concerned with the liquidation of slavery and the slave trade.

On May 31 the 44th ECOSOC by a vote of 25 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, adopted a resolution approving these recommendations. The resolution also endorsed the finding of the Commission that the master and servant laws in force in southern Africa constituted "clear manifestations of slavery and the slave trade."

Capital Punishment

On March 8 the Human Rights Commission adopted by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, a resolution sponsored by Sweden, Austria, Italy, and Venezuela recommending action by the General Assembly with regard to capital punishment. The resolution recalled that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provided that everyone had the right to life and that no one should be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment. It invited governments to ensure the utmost safeguards before carrying out death sentences and encouraged the restriction or total abolition of the death penalty.

The 44th ECOSOC unanimously approved the resolution and the Assembly adopted it on November 26 by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions (see also p. 101).

On October 4, during the Assembly's consideration of this topic, an additional resolution, eventually sponsored by 12 African and Asian states, was introduced in the Third Committee. This resolution, in its final form, condemned the governments in southern Africa for using capital punishment "in their attempts to suppress the national aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa to social and economic justice, civil rights and political freedom." Although the United States supported the principles involved, it abstained on the resolution because it contained

unduly extreme language. The Third Committee adopted the resolution on October 7 by a vote of 87 to 1, with 7 abstentions, and the plenary Assembly approved it on November 26 by a vote of 89 to 2, with 7 abstentions.

War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity

At the 23d General Assembly, the Third Committee renewed its consideration of the draft convention on the nonapplicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity which it had been unable to complete in 1967. The original purposes of the convention were to make clear that under international law there are no time limits on the prosecution of such crimes and to establish a new rule by treaty that would obligate parties to the convention to abolish any national laws that might limit the prosecution period for such crimes in domestic courts.

The United States was not opposed to these purposes. However, representatives from Africa and elsewhere wished to use the proposed convention as a vehicle for expanding definitions of crimes against humanity beyond those generally accepted in the Nuremberg Charter and other sources of international law, specifically to include apartheid. In addition, the majority was unwilling to limit the application of the convention to "crimes of a grave nature," even though practice in domestic law usually exempts only the most serious crimes from statutes of limitation. Efforts to obtain more precise drafting failed, with the result that the final text remained both vague and unduly broad. For example, article II extends criminal liability to officials not actively involved in criminal conduct but who merely "tolerate" the

commission of specified crimes. A proposed provision to prevent retroactive application of the convention was also rejected, opening up the possibility of restoring criminal liability in some countries for offenses on which the period of prosecution had expired.

In the face of such problems, the United States and over 40 other states decided they could not support the convention. The Third Committee adopted the draft convention on October 15 by a vote of 58 to 6 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it in plenary session on November 26 by a vote of 58 to 7 (U.S.), with 36 abstentions. Less than half the U.N. members voted for the convention.

After the plenary vote the U.S. Representative, Mrs. Jean Picker, explained in detail U.S. opposition to the convention as drafted. She affirmed U.S. recognition that one of the General Assembly's important responsibilities under the Charter is to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of encouraging the progressive development and codification of international law. She pointed out, however, that the Third Committee was in no sense a technical body and said:

In our opinion, if the international community really desired to make a serious attempt to revise international criminal law, it would assign this task to a highly qualified group of experts in international law whose competence would be widely recognized.

On other aspects of this question, the 41st ECOSOC in 1966 had asked the Secretary-General to undertake various studies with respect to the punishment of war criminals and persons who have committed crimes against humanity. In 1968 the Human Rights Commission had before it preliminary information from governments on measures taken to ensure the arrest, extradition, and punishment of such persons.

The Commission considered this material and asked the Secretary-General to submit a further study to its next session, including an examination of appropriate standards of compensation for the victims of such crimes.

Freedom of Information

Under the triennial cycle of periodic reports on human rights, the Human Rights Commission in 1968 considered the topic freedom of information. It had before it reports from 37 governments; a comprehensive program analysis by UNESCO; information from the ILO, UPU, and ITU; and comments by interested nongovernmental organizations.

At the 23d General Assembly the Philippines on December 13 submitted a draft resolution on this topic which was cosponsored by Costa Rica, Mauritius, the Netherlands, Nigeria, and Saudi Arabia. In it the General Assembly, *inter alia*, noted that advances in the field of telecommunications had enormously extended the reach and scope of words, images, and ideas, thus greatly magnifying the potentialities for good and evil of information media; emphasized the importance of diverse sources of news and opinion; appealed to information media everywhere to cooperate in strengthening democratic institutions, promoting economic and social progress and friendly relations among nations, and combating propaganda for war or for national, racial, or religious hatred; commended the practice of triennial reporting on freedom of information and recommended the possibility of appointing a special rapporteur to conduct an independent and objective study of the actual situation and developments in the field of freedom

of information. The resolution also decided to give priority at the Assembly's next session to adoption of a draft declaration on freedom of information—rather than to the unfinished draft convention which had been pending without consideration since 1961—in the belief that a declaration “may serve as an inspiration and set a standard for information media as well as Governments anywhere in the world.”

The Third Committee adopted the resolution on December 13 by a vote of 64 (U.S.) to 8, with 11 abstentions, and the plenary approved it on December 19 by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 8, with 12 abstentions.

Regional Commissions

In 1967 the Human Rights Commission had established an 11-member *ad hoc* Study Group to consider, *inter alia*, a proposed establishment of regional commissions on human rights within the U.N. system. Although the Group's report did not contain any agreed conclusions or recommendations, it did reflect general agreement that such commissions could not be created from outside the region by the United Nations or other states, but, instead, could be established only on the initiative of the states concerned which would also have the exclusive competence to decide the terms of reference for the commissions.

The Commission decided on March 1 by a vote of 27 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, to request the Secretary-General to transmit the report of the Study Group to member states and regional intergovernmental organizations for their comments and to report to the 25th session of the Commission which would then consider again, as a matter of priority, the establishment of regional commissions.

Enlargement of Subcommission

On the initiative of the Tanzanian Representative, the Commission decided by a vote of 23 to 7 (U.S.), with 1 abstention, to enlarge its Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities from 18 to 26 members and, for the first time, to allot the seats geographically, with 12 for Africans and Asians, 6 for Western Europeans and others, 5 for Latin Americans, and 3 for Eastern Europeans. The purpose of this move was to reflect the increased size and geographic distribution of the U.N. membership. The United States opposed the change because it believed the Subcommission should have a small membership, and because it believed that the proposed expansion would have the effect of changing the Subcommission from an expert to a representative body.

On May 31 by a vote of 21 to 5 (U.S.), with 1 abstention, the 44th ECOSOC approved the proposed change in composition for the Subcommission, to take place following the expiration of the current members' term of office at the end of 1968.

Status of Women

Interest continued in 1968 to focus on the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which had been adopted by the General Assembly in 1967. The Tehran Human Rights Conference in April unanimously adopted a comprehensive resolution setting forth specific measures that might be taken at the local, national, regional, or international levels to implement the Declaration. Among these measures were ratification of international conventions, establishment of national commissions on the

status of women, creation of a women's social service, establishment of educational programs to prepare people for family life, promotion of vocational guidance programs, and encouragement of educational programs with special provisions to assure full attendance by girls and women. Further, the Proclamation of Tehran renewed the call in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for freedom and dignity for each individual without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

In line with earlier directives from the General Assembly the 21st session of the Commission on the Status of Women continued to consider a unified, long-term program for the advancement of women that would merit the confidence of governments working to achieve equal opportunity and equal treatment of women. Some 22 governments had responded to requests for comments on three aspects of this topic: the role of women in the economic and social development of their countries, means to improve utilization of human resources, and the work of national commissions on the status of women. A number of representatives from specialized agencies and nongovernmental organizations contributed further information. After some discussion the Commission decided to hold the matter for further study and urged governments that had not replied to questionnaires to respond before the next session of the Commission.

FAMILY PLANNING

In 1965 the Commission had requested the Secretary-General to provide it with "a report on the effect of the lack of family planning on the status of women in countries suffering from over-population and the relation between family planning and the advancement of women." In 1968

the Secretary-General submitted an interim report setting forth U.N. policy on family planning and the policies of member states where they have been officially stated. The report also included the relevance of family planning to maternal and child health, the financial position of the family, the educational prospects of children, the employment of women outside the home, and their participation in public and civic life.

The Commission decided to appoint a Special Rapporteur on "Family Planning and the Status of Women" to continue studying the subject, and selected Mrs. Helvi Sipilä of Finland, a former chairman of the Commission, for this post.

On May 31 the 44th ECOSOC approved this appointment, and on the recommendation of the Commission invited member states to undertake national surveys or case studies on this subject and to make their findings available to the Secretary-General as the basis for a further report. The Council also invited the specialized agencies concerned and interested nongovernmental organizations to cooperate and make available any relevant material.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

On February 5 the Commission unanimously adopted a resolution (cosponsored by Finland, France, Iran, Liberia, Mauritania, U.S.) that recognized the considerable progress of women in the achievement of their political rights, noting that equal suffrage was assured in almost all countries. At the same time, however, it noted that women were not fully exercising these rights. The Commission called the attention of member states, specialized agencies, and nongovernmental organizations to the conclusions of a seminar in Helsinki in August 1967, where women from some 30 countries had, *inter alia*, developed a basic agenda

for regional seminars that the United Nations might organize on this subject. In this connection, the Representative of Ghana announced that her government had offered to host during 1968 a regional seminar for African countries to consider, *inter alia*, civic responsibilities at the local level (see below).

ECOSOC unanimously endorsed this resolution on May 31.

Advisory Services

In 1968 the United Nations organized three seminars and set up programs for 47 fellows under the program of advisory services in the field of human rights.

The first of the seminars, held in London June 18–July 1, dealt with freedom of association. Participating countries were selected on a worldwide basis with some 30 in attendance along with a number of consultants from nongovernmental organizations. The U.S. participant was John Carey of New York, a former alternate member of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and adviser to the U.S. delegation to the Human Rights Commission. Mr. Carey was active in winning agreement among the participants that the right to freedom of association included the right to organize diverse political parties, even in so-called one-party political systems. The seminar also reaffirmed the finding of a 1965 seminar on the same topic in Yugoslavia that freedom of association included the right to organize and communicate with fellow members across frontiers.

The second seminar, on the elimination of racial discrimination, was held in New Delhi August 27–September 9. It also was organized on a worldwide basis. The U.S. participant was C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr., a member of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and

Protection of Minorities. Although discussions centered on apartheid and conditions in southern Africa, Mr. Ferguson's able demonstration of the complex nature of situations in the United States in terms of practical solutions to domestic problems encouraged similar self-analysis among other participants. As a result other participants also discussed discrimination in their own countries, including racial and caste problems in areas of equatorial Africa and in the Moslem and Hindu countries of Asia.

The third seminar, a regional meeting for Africa on the civic and political education of women, was held in Accra, Ghana, November 19-December 2. The United States sent an observer delegation headed by Mrs. Gladys Tillett, U.S. Representative on the Status of Women Commission.

Interest in fellowship awards continued at about the same level as in previous years with 36 countries

submitting some 100 nominations for awards. Among the 47 fellowship recipients were government officials with responsibility for the administration of justice or those who were being prepared for tasks involving legislative drafting, national development planning, and the administration of justice, labor, and social affairs. Nine of the awards were for programs for the advancement of women.

A group project on the implementation of the rights of the child at the local as well as the national level was conducted in Poland for French-speaking African fellows. It included programmed observation of education, public health, and other faculties. A pilot group project had been organized in Japan in 1967 on the administration of criminal justice. The success of these two projects encouraged the Secretary-General to seek further invitations to host group-training programs for U.N. human rights fellows.

Programing and Coordination

As the first Development Decade neared its end, its results were carefully reviewed and discussions began on preparations for the Second Decade. A review of the shortcomings of the first Decade led to increased recognition of the need for more detailed planning and coordination prior to starting the Second. In thus looking to the future the continuing review of existing programs and priorities took on increasing importance.

The work of ECOSOC, its Committee on Program and Coordination (CPC), and its Coordination Committee (a sessional committee of

the whole) was dominated by a realization on the part of developing and developed countries alike that the U.N. system of organizations had reached a point of complexity and competing jurisdictions that called for heroic measures to pull it together. This understanding became increasingly shared by the executive heads of the agencies within the U.N. family. Recognition grew that coordination as well as review of U.N. programs in the economic and social field had become primary functions of ECOSOC.

Two studies stemming from the U.N. system's concern with review-

ing its activities progressed in 1968. One was the UNDP study on the capacity of the U.N. system to deliver an expanded development program (see p. 80), and the other was the IBRD "Grand Assize" under the chairmanship of Lester Pearson (see p. 140).

Review of U.N. Programs

Acting on behalf of ECOSOC, the CPC began its review in depth of the U.N. programs in the economic, social, and related fields. It carefully questioned the U.N. officials in charge of each substantive area on the steps taken to coordinate their programs with those of other parts of the U.N. system. Throughout the discussions emphasis was placed on the need for better use of available resources by concentrating on clearly defined priority programs likely to make a difference in the achievement of priority objectives of the less developed countries. In its questioning the Committee showed little patience with vested bureaucratic interests or any empire-building proclivities of the officials who appeared before it. It is anticipated that the impact of this position taken by the CPC will be reflected in future programs and staff proposals of the U.N. Secretariat.

Although the CPC has not yet reached the stage of making specific recommendations on individual programs, it did propose, and the 45th ECOSOC accepted, a series of general recommendations to tighten up the programing process. While it recognized that the CPC was essentially a tool for programing and coordination, ECOSOC requested it also to take into account the financial implications of the U.N. programs in the economic, social, and related fields. In this connection, the complementarity of the functions of the CPC and the ACABQ was emphasized. Thus the ACABQ was

invited to continue giving due weight to the comments and recommendations of the CPC when considering the U.N. budget estimates of these programs. In addition, the functional commissions, the regional commissions, and other subsidiary bodies of ECOSOC, as well as UNCTAD's Trade and Development Board and UNIDO's Industrial Development Board, were requested to classify the items in their work programs by categories of priorities in the manner recommended by the CPC in its report.

The CPC also discussed and emphasized the need for developing procedures for coordination in the planning stages in addition to the existing procedures which relate largely to the implementation stages of projects. This must of necessity lead to long-range planning, a concept which was one of the recommendations of the Committee of 14.

On August 2 ECOSOC adopted a resolution endorsing the plans of the CPC to assist it and the General Assembly in establishing priorities in the United Nations and in formulating programs clearly responsive to such priorities. In order to carry forward this work the U.N. Secretariat was requested to prepare for the CPC in 1969 a short general survey, indicating the broad areas of priorities among major fields of activities and the priorities within each program. This survey will serve as an introduction to the Committee's examination of selected sectors of the economic and social program for 1970 and the program's projections for 1971. The projections for 1971, after consideration by the CPC and ECOSOC, will serve as a guide for the Secretary-General on the economic and social program requirements that he should take into account in suggesting a budget planning estimate to the General Assembly. The draft program projections are to be confined to a brief identification of continuing projects, brief descriptions of new or

enlarged projects, and a broad indication of additional resources required in each sector of the work program after allowing for completed or abandoned projects. In this way the CPC and ECOSOC will be able in 1969 to take a broad view of the shape of the 1971 program which will subsequently be presented in the usual program and budgetary detail in 1970.

Certain activities in economic and social fields, such as those concerning natural resources, transport, and fiscal and financial questions, are not subject to review by any inter-governmental body; these will now be reviewed in depth annually by the CPC. In addition, ECOSOC decided that the activities of the U.N. system in the field of tourism should also be discussed, and the activities in the transport field warranted a separate discussion. A special item on transport was therefore placed on the agenda of the 47th session of ECOSOC (summer 1969) to permit the consideration in depth of developments and requirements necessary to achieve integration and coordination of programs in this field.

One further internal step was recommended by the CPC and accepted by ECOSOC. The Council has long had a procedure whereby before it votes on a proposal of direct concern to one or more of the agencies, the Secretary-General must consult with the agencies and report to ECOSOC on the means of achieving coordinated use of resources. However, this procedure has never been fully implemented. In addition to reemphasizing both its own and the Secretary-General's obligation to insure implementation of this rule, ECOSOC extended the procedure to its functional commissions and proposed similar rules for adoption by the regional economic commissions and the General Assembly. Unfortunately, owing to pressure of work, the 23d Assembly postponed its consideration of the proposal.

Finally, limited progress was made in reducing U.N. documentation in the economic, social, and related fields. Three of ECOSOC's subsidiary bodies (Statistical Commission, Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and Committee for Development Planning) decided to dispense with summary records of their meetings; the other subsidiary bodies were asked to consider at their next session whether they could do likewise or at least replace the summaries with shorter analytical minutes. In addition, in an attempt to bring into sharper focus the Secretary-General's reports and to facilitate discussion, ECOSOC requested him in the future to mark those passages of his reports that call for a decision by the body to which they are addressed and, where appropriate, to present proposals or suggestions for action by the Council and by its subsidiary bodies.

Coordination Within the U.N. System

The CPC devoted so much time to its review of the U.N. work program that it was unable to undertake a thorough review of the reports of the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC)¹ and the specialized agencies. It recognized this shortcoming and made arrangements to give adequate time and attention to the consideration of these important topics in 1969. The 45th ECOSOC, however, through its Coordination Committee helped fill the vacuum in 1968 by approving resolutions on three aspects of inter-agency coordination—automatic data processing, designation of international years, and coordination at the national level.

¹ Composed of the U.N. Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and IAEA. The heads of other U.N. bodies are invited to attend as appropriate.

With respect to the first topic, it was obvious from a study of the reports of the specialized agencies and the ACC that in all parts of the U.N. system the application of electronic techniques for data collection and use was being discussed. Individual agencies were purchasing computers and in some instances programing without reference to what other agencies were doing. ECOSOC noted with satisfaction that the Governing Council of the UNDP at its June meeting had requested its Administrator to prepare a study on the feasibility of setting up and operating a system of automatic data storage, processing, and retrieval. The Council was also informed that the ACC had established a Computer Users' Committee. ECOSOC recognized the potential value of these activities from the point of view of coordination within the U.N. system; however, it was obvious that the work of the ACC and its Committee must be tied in with whatever study the UNDP Administrator was to undertake. Therefore, the Administrator and the ACC were invited to co-operate fully in carrying out the feasibility study referred to above. This report, before being submitted to the Governing Council of the UNDP, is expected to be submitted to the CPC, and afterwards to ECOSOC and subsequently to the General Assembly. In addition, the ACC was requested to report separately on the progress made by the Computer Users' Committee and to work on the basis of a maximum sharing of facilities rather than of self-sufficiency for each organization.

With respect to the second topic, ECOSOC was aware of the growing tendency within the U.N. system to designate international years and anniversaries. Recognizing that the value of this practice would be impaired if it were followed too frequently, ECOSOC expressed the hope that new proposals for the designation of international years and anniversaries would be avoided

except in the most important cases. It requested that these views be brought to the attention of all inter-governmental organizations in the U.N. system.

Finally, one of the most important resolutions dealing with coordination arose from the discussions that took place in ECOSOC's Coordination Committee and involved the whole question of coordination at the national level. The ACC report to ECOSOC noted that the aggravation of the problem of conflicting decisions taken in different inter-governmental organizations was, in part, "due to inadequate coordination at the national level." Most members of the Committee agreed. Representatives of the developing countries pointed out, however, that the agencies also had a responsibility for informing delegations when they were considering proposals that might duplicate, overlap, or conflict with decisions already taken in other bodies. ECOSOC unanimously adopted a resolution pointing out that the various agencies had a responsibility for the timely distribution of documents in order to assist governments in achieving coordination. Governments were requested to take further steps to insure more appropriate coordination at the national level, and the ACC was requested to keep under review the problem of decisions being taken in different organizations within the U.N. system that might lead to duplication or divergent action and to indicate in its annual report to ECOSOC such decisions with a view to their possible harmonization. Although the United States originally preferred that there be no additional report on this subject, the majority of members of ECOSOC decided that the Secretary-General should prepare a survey of the means and methods currently employed by member states to coordinate their national policies, the difficulties generally encountered in insuring such coordination, and appropriate sug-

gestions for overcoming these difficulties. This report, to be submitted to the 49th session of ECOSOC in 1970, will provide information to member governments wishing to set up national coordinating machinery. It will also serve to keep the topic alive and before the appropriate intergovernmental bodies.

Joint ACC and CPC Meetings

The joint meetings instituted in 1965 were continued in 1968. These joint meetings help improve coordination by bringing about closer working relationships and better understanding among the members of the ACC, the CPC, and ECOSOC. In 1968, at the invitation of the Romanian Government, the meeting was held in Bucharest July 3-5 and was attended by the executive heads of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the IAEA, and the related programs of the U.N. system. Of particular interest was the discussion of the First Development Decade and the lessons to be learned from it for the Second Decade. Although it was agreed that the results of the First Decade were disappointing, it was not considered a failure since the planning for the Second Decade could benefit. It was also agreed that important changes in public attitudes had taken place as a result of the First Decade and that the establishment of certain vital international institutions, such as the UNDP, UNCTAD, and UNIDO, had resulted. All participants, member governments and agencies alike, warned that in the preparations for the Second Decade there must be a direct and active involvement of governments and the agencies that are to carry out the programs if it is to be a success. There were other matters touched on in less detail but it was generally agreed that this was

one of the better meetings and certainly provided an opportunity for all participants to express their views and doubts freely.

Enlarged Committee on Program and Coordination (ECPC)

The ECPC continued its work to fulfill the task assigned to it by the 21st General Assembly in 1966. Progress was made in the preparation of the Handbook of Criteria and Procedures for Requesting Technical Assistance. The Committee reviewed the draft submitted to it by the Secretariat and decided that it would constitute a useful tool for UNDP resident representatives and national officials concerned with assistance programs in both developing and developed countries. The members of the Committee were invited to submit in writing their comments on the draft which the Committee would consider during 1969.

With respect to providing a "clear and comprehensive picture of the existing operational and research activities of the U.N. family of organizations," the Committee received a voluminous document prepared by the Secretary-General and the representatives of the specialized agencies and other interested bodies. The Committee held preliminary discussions on this material and generally agreed that only the organizations preparing the material were in a position to know whether the picture was indeed "clear and comprehensive." They were therefore asked to refine the document taking into account whatever comments members made and to re-submit it to the Committee in 1969. The Committee would not approve this document but would use it as a basis for assessing the work of the

U.N. family of organizations and of making recommendations to the General Assembly. The Committee submitted its report to a resumed session of the 45th ECOSOC and to the 23d General Assembly for its

information. The Committee will continue its meetings in 1969 in order to undertake its assessment and draw up its recommendations, which must be submitted to the 24th session of the Assembly.

Specialized Agencies and the IAEA

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

The IBRD was established by the United States and over 40 other nations in 1944. Since that time it has grown to a membership of 110 nations¹ with authorized capital of \$24 billion, making it the largest multilateral source of financial assistance in the world. The United States has subscribed \$6,350 million or 27.7% of the total subscribed capital of \$22.9 billion.

The IBRD's primary functions are to provide loans where private capital is not available on reasonable terms to finance development projects and programs designed to raise the level of productivity and to stimulate economic growth in its member countries. It also furnishes a wide variety of technical assistance. The IBRD obtains its lending resources principally from borrowings in private capital markets. Its outstanding funded debt as of June 30, 1968, was \$3,289 million. The IBRD also receives funds from the sales of parts of its loans, repayments of principal, and interest.

¹ Botswana, Lesotho, and Mauritius joined during 1968.

The IBRD had made 552 loans to 85 countries and territories for a total of \$11.2 billion by June 30. IBRD loan commitments in fiscal 1968 were \$847 million, and gross disbursements were \$772 million. Nearly three-fourths of the IBRD loans have been made to developing countries, primarily for projects in the fields of electric power, transportation, industry, and agriculture.

In addition to its direct development assistance efforts, the IBRD promotes coordination between developed and developing countries. It has established close working relationships with other organizations in the U.N. system by cooperating with the FAO and UNESCO to promote agricultural and educational development through IBRD lending. It also acts as executing agency for certain preinvestment projects financed by the UNDP.

During 1968 the IBRD sponsored the formation of a new consultative group on East Africa, bringing to 10 the number of such groups which coordinate assistance activities for individual developing countries. The IBRD also sponsors consortia for assistance to India and Pakistan and administers the Indus Basin and Nam Ngum Development Funds.

Under IBRD sponsorship an International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes was established in October 1966. The Centre pro-

vides facilities for the settlement, by voluntary recourse to conciliation or arbitration, of investment disputes between contracting states and foreign investors who are nationals of other contracting states. The United States was one of 45 parties to the convention establishing the Centre by the end of 1968.

On April 1 Robert S. McNamara succeeded George D. Woods as President of the IBRD and its affiliates, the IFC and IDA. In his address on September 30 to the Board of Governors at its annual meeting, President McNamara stated the Bank's intention to increase sharply the level of lending over the next 5 years. He emphasized, however, that the increased lending would not be accompanied by relaxation of the Bank's high standards. The relative shares of lending, geographically, to Africa and Latin America and, functionally, for education and agriculture, are expected to rise substantially. Mr. McNamara also took note of the impact that rapid increases in population have on development prospects and said that the Bank group of organizations will seek ways to give assistance in this area.

He announced that a commission of outstanding men would be established to survey the past record of the aid effort and seek out the lessons it can teach for the future. The former Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, agreed to head this commission, which has been informally called "The Grand Assize."

On December 5, in an address to ECOSOC, Mr. McNamara noted that:

Our collaboration with the United Nations Development Program . . . is of long standing. Some \$700 million of World Bank loans and IDA credits have been preceded by, or related to, studies which UNDP has financed; this amounts to more than one-half of all external investment related to studies in the Program.

International Finance Corporation

The IFC was established in 1956 as an affiliate of the IBRD to assist the industrial development of its less advanced member countries. The IFC furthers investment in productive private enterprises through subscriptions to capital stock, through combinations of stock subscriptions and loans, and through loans with equity or other special features. It invests in association with private investors when sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms. In addition, the IFC acts for the World Bank group in the technical and financial appraisal, preparation, and supervision of industrial and mining projects.

The IFC has 90 members¹ and an authorized capital of \$110 million, of which \$101.4 million has been subscribed and paid in. The United States subscribes 34.7% of the total capital stock. In addition to capital subscriptions, the IFC also obtains funds from repayments of investments, sales of equity and loan investments, and net income. The IFC also has available to it a first line of credit of \$100 million out of the approximately \$400 million which it is authorized to borrow from the IBRD.

By June 30 the IFC had made 153 investments and standby and underwriting commitments of \$271.8 million, 94% of which were for developing countries. New IFC commitments in fiscal 1968 totaled \$50.7 million and disbursements were \$33.1 million. Cumulative disbursements as of June 30 totaled \$173.1 million.

¹ Indonesia, Mauritania, Mauritius, Singapore, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia joined during 1968.

International Development Association

The IDA was established in 1960 as an affiliate of the IBRD to provide development credits on highly concessional terms. The IDA has the same management and staff as the IBRD, operates on similar principles, and provides financing for the same general range of projects. The favorable terms on which the IDA lends permit the extension of credits to countries that could not prudently assume the burden of payment for an IBRD loan; some of these countries receive only IDA credits, while others are able to receive a blend of IDA and IBRD types of financing.

The IDA has a membership of 102 countries¹ which have provided subscriptions and supplementary resources totaling the equivalent of \$1,814.5 million. Eighteen members, comprising the more economically advanced (Part I) countries, make their entire contributions in gold or convertible currencies, all of which may be used for lending. The less economically advanced (Part II) members pay only one-tenth of their contributions in gold or convertible currencies usable for lending. The United States has contributed \$632.3 million to IDA resources, or about 42% of total Part I contributions.

IDA also obtains transfers of IBRD earnings. During the period 1964 to 1967 transfers of \$210 million were authorized by the IBRD Board of Governors. The September 1968 annual meeting of the IBRD approved a further transfer of \$75 million.

By the end of fiscal 1968, the IDA had made 127 credits, totaling \$1,788.4 million, to 40 developing countries. Commitments in fiscal

1968 totaled \$106.6 million, and disbursements were \$318.8 million. Credits have been principally for projects in the fields of transportation, industry, and agriculture.

As of June 30 IDA's resources remaining available for commitment totaled \$7.2 million, all of which have been earmarked for projects in the final stages of consideration. In March 1968 a proposal for a replenishment of IDA's resources by \$1.2 billion, at the rate of \$400 million per year for 3 years, was transmitted to governments. The annual U.S. share would be \$160 million or 40%. Balance-of-payments safeguards for the United States are incorporated in the proposal. Legislation to authorize U.S. participation in the proposed replenishment was submitted to the Congress which did not, however, take action on it before the adjournment of the session.

International Monetary Fund

The basic objectives of the International Monetary Fund are to promote exchange and monetary stability and to provide, under adequate safeguards, medium-term financial assistance to member countries in temporary balance-of-payments difficulties. As of December 31, 1968, the IMF had 111 members² with quotas totaling \$21,198 million, of which the U.S. quota was \$5,160 million.

The resources of the Fund are supplemented by the General Arrangements to Borrow, which became effective in 1962 and were renewed in 1966. Under these Arrangements, the main industrial countries undertook to lend to the IMF specified amounts of their currencies up to

¹ Botswana, Indonesia, Lesotho, and Mauritius joined in 1968.

² Botswana, Lesotho, Malta, and Mauritius joined during 1968.

the equivalent of \$6 billion in the event that the stability of the international monetary system is endangered. The U.S. commitment under the Arrangements is \$2 billion.

The United States first made use of the Fund's facilities in 1964, and since that time has made total drawings of \$1,840 million. Of this amount \$1,090 million were considered technical drawings since the foreign currencies received were sold by the United States to other IMF members for their use in making repayments to the Fund. All U.S. drawings had been fully repaid by December 31, 1968, largely as a result of drawings of U.S. dollars by other countries. Such drawings amounted to \$1,555 million, including \$600 million in drawings by the United Kingdom, France, and Canada during 1968. The balance of our drawings was repaid in November and December in the form of repurchases by the U.S. Treasury in foreign currencies.

After several years of negotiation, both in the Group of Ten¹ and in the IMF, the Executive Directors of the IMF in April 1968 submitted a proposed amendment to the Fund's Articles of Agreement in compliance with a resolution by the Board of Governors at its annual meeting in Rio de Janeiro in September 1967. The proposed amendment would establish in the Fund a facility for special drawing rights and would give effect to certain changes in the present rules and practices of the Fund. The special drawing rights facility would provide for the deliberate creation of a supplement to gold and reserve currencies to meet the need, as and when it arises, for an increase in global monetary reserves. It was widely felt that a new source of monetary reserves would be needed at some point to support a continuation of the expansion of

world trade and commerce which has contributed to domestic prosperity and economic growth throughout the world. The special drawing rights would be issued only to governments, and exchanged only among governments, and would be distributed in accordance with each member's quota in the IMF. The United States would therefore receive about \$250 million out of each \$1 billion of special drawing rights issued.

The proposed amendment will enter into force when accepted by 60% of the members having 80% of the total voting power. The special drawing rights facility will have authority to begin operations when members having at least 75% of the total of Fund quotas certify that they undertake the obligations of a participant in the special drawing account.

The United States played a leading role in formulating the special drawing rights proposal and was the first country to complete all the necessary steps for participation. The necessary legislation was approved by the House of Representatives on May 10, 1968, by the Senate on June 6, and was signed by the President on June 19 as Public Law 90-349.

Food and Agriculture Organization

1968 was a year of both change and continuing growth for FAO. Among the highlights: a new Director General, A. H. Boerma of the Netherlands who had been elected by the 14th Conference in November 1967, took office on January 1; a seven-state *ad hoc* committee (of which the United States was a member) completed its study of FAO's organizational structure, and a new structure began to be put

¹ Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, and United States—the main industrial countries.

into effect; a new strategy for the organization's work was developed; and Mauritius—which had been an associate member—became a full member bringing the total to 117 members and 2 associate members.

INDICATIVE WORLD PLAN

Work continued during 1968 on the Indicative World Plan. This Plan is expected to provide the basis for a strategy, adapted to various regions, for achieving a faster rate of growth in agriculture within the framework of overall economic development.

Provisional studies for the several regions of the world were made, and the appropriate ones served as the basis for discussions at regional conferences in Africa, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia and the Far East. These studies will now be reviewed by member countries, completed, and placed before the FAO Conference in November 1969.

NEW ORIENTATION OF ACTIVITIES

The United States is a member of the FAO Council which held its 51st session in Rome October 7–22. The Council approved the Director General's proposal that future FAO activities be concentrated in five broad areas: (1) spreading the use of high yielding varieties of basic food crops, (2) getting more protein into inadequate diets, (3) fighting wastes, (4) mobilizing human resources for rural development, and (5) earning and saving foreign exchange. The Director General established inter-divisional working parties to plan and implement activities in the five areas.

FIELD PROGRAMS

FAO's field programs have grown materially as a result of UNDP projects which have been assigned to it as executing agency. In 1959 it supervised only three projects. In 1968 FAO supervised some 213 proj-

ects funded from the UNDP Special Fund at a cost of approximately \$46 million. Under the UNDP technical assistance component FAO carried out 650 projects at a cost of approximately \$13.6 million. FAO also carried out field projects involving some \$3,951,000 in trust fund monies.

FREEDOM-FROM-HUNGER CAMPAIGN

The Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign, launched in 1960 with U.S. support, is primarily a food-production campaign. At its October meeting the FAO Council extended the Campaign for the period of the Second U.N. Development Decade. The Coordinator of the Campaign within the FAO is a U.S. citizen. From its inception up to mid-1968 some 300 projects had been completed or were operational, involving approximately \$44 million, with roughly half of this amount being provided as counterpart contributions from the recipient countries.

AGRICULTURE

Much of the work carried out under FAO's regular program and in the field programs of technical assistance relates to agriculture. In the past this work has centered in the Technical Department which now, under the reorganization mentioned earlier, has been reconstituted as the Agriculture Department. The Nutrition Division has been transferred to another Department, and the Forestry and Forest Industries Division will be elevated to a Department, thus leaving in the Agriculture Department only those divisions which deal with agriculture as a technical field.

A new unit, the Agricultural Services Division (headed by a U.S. citizen), has been established within the Agriculture Department to deal with agricultural engineering, food processing, production economics, and farm management. It will have primary responsibility for all multi-

disciplinary projects in the field program.

FAO took an active part in coordinating the efforts of various interested parties including the United States in combating the outbreak of desert locust in the Arabian peninsula and several African countries. Using UNDP funds, FAO made specialists available to advise the regional organizations and countries concerned. The 51st Council subsequently recommended the establishment of a \$750,000 emergency fund for the control of desert locust and animal disease outbreaks; the FAO Conference is expected to approve the fund at its 15th session in November 1969.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Through its Department of Economic and Social Affairs, FAO continued to deal with matters relating to economic analysis, commodities, rural institutions, and nutrition. The Indicative World Plan, mentioned above, is based to a large degree on the economic analysis work of this Department, which is also responsible for FAO's role in the field of commodity trade (see p. 84).

A special "family living" section within this Department, authorized by the FAO Conference in 1967, was established in 1968. This section gives particular attention to problems of family planning and population control, together with the closely related problems of improved use of family resources through consumer education, food utilization, and understanding of the economic and social factors involved in family well-being and family size.

FORESTRY

The Forestry and Forest Industries Division again published its *Yearbook of Forest Products Statistics*. This annual publication provides authoritative worldwide statistics of great value to workers in all countries,

including the forest economists, timber managers, and wood products specialists in the United States.

The United States participated actively in FAO forestry work in 1968. It helped prepare a national report on forestry for consideration by FAO's Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission. The United States also released experts serving in the U.S. Forest Service to serve temporarily with FAO. Five such experts served for 2 months each as advisers on FAO-administered projects in Africa and Latin America on watershed management, wood technology, forest economics, research, and dendrology. Seven professional foresters were released for periods of from 1 to 3 years to serve on FAO/UNDP-financed projects or in back-stopping roles at FAO headquarters.

FISHERIES

The Department of Fisheries, headed by a U.S. citizen, continued to stress the establishment and maintenance of viable active regional fishery bodies that are capable of undertaking specific projects aimed at solving regional problems through the use of less developed stocks and the conservation of overfished stocks.

The United States is a member of the Indian Ocean Fishery Commission, which held its first session in September. At this organizational meeting the Commission developed a long-range project, the Indian Ocean Fishery Survey and Development Program, which will begin with a 2-year preparatory phase for gathering basic statistics and other background material.

The Second FAO Technical Conference on Fishery Research Craft met in Seattle, Washington, in May. Forty-five representatives from 17 countries attended the Conference which studied the missions for which the craft were used and how best to plan, equip, and use research vessels to produce maximum knowledge of

fishery resources as a basis for their effective utilization.

A number of Americans, including an official from the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, participated in the FAO Conference on Fishing Ports and Port Markets in Bremen in September. The main emphasis of the Conference was the development of harbors and port facilities and their operation as related to marketing, including the transportation of fish, sales, financing, storing, and market development.

U.N./FAO WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

The World Food Program (WFP), sponsored jointly by the United Nations and FAO, was established on an experimental basis in 1962 and placed on a continuing basis in 1965. Through the use of voluntary contributions of food commodities, services such as shipping, and cash, the WFP works on a multi-lateral basis to promote economic and social development and to provide emergency assistance.

During the 1966-68 pledging period 79 countries pledged a total of \$187 million (\$126 million commodities, \$25 million shipping services, and \$36 million cash) toward the 3-year target of \$275 million.

At the 14th session of the U.N./FAO Intergovernmental Committee in November 1968, the WFP Executive Director reported that since the inception of the WFP cumulative commitments to 319 economic and social development projects in 74 countries had totaled \$452 million; 24 of these projects had been approved since the April 1968 session of the Committee. In the field of emergency assistance the WFP has allocated \$56 million for 71 operations in 47 countries; 9 of these emergency situations involved assistance since the April session. During 1968 the WFP resources were increased by additional donations of

surplus commodities made available on an *ad hoc* basis by several Scandinavian countries. Other countries chose to use the WFP as their channel for grain contributions under the Food Aid Convention of the International Grains Arrangement. These additional donations supplement the resources made available by the regular pledges to the WFP.

At the Third Pledging Conference, held in New York in January 1968, the United States pledged, for the period 1969-70, (1) commodities up to a maximum of \$70 million, subject to the condition that the U.S. contribution in commodities does not exceed 50% of total contributions in commodities and cash used for the purchase of commodities, (2) shipping services, currently estimated at \$27 million to transport the U.S. commodities, and (3) up to \$3 million cash subject to the condition that the U.S. contribution does not exceed 40% of total cash contributions.

International Labor Organization

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The International Labor Conference, which meets each year, is the standards-setting body of the ILO. Member states are represented by tripartite delegations: one worker, one employer, and two government delegates, each with a separate vote. The 52d session, in June, was attended by delegations from 109 of the 118 ILO member states.

The 1968 Conference adopted one new international instrument: a recommendation on the improvement of living and working conditions of the tenant farmers and sharecroppers who make up two-fifths of the world's agricultural work force. This new international instru-

ment brings to 260 (128 conventions and 132 recommendations) the number of international standards adopted by the ILO since it was established in 1919.

The Conference reached tentative conclusions on standards for labor inspection in agriculture and for sickness insurance; final action will be taken in 1969.

The Conference adopted resolutions concerning the promotion of human rights (particularly freedom of association and combating discrimination in employment); a request for general amnesty for trade unionists under arrest or sentence for trade union activities; vocational training for women; a call for the study of the causes and extent of the outflow of trained specialists from developing countries ("brain-drain"); and a call for the close association of employers and workers organizations with the ILO's technical assistance activities.

The Conference also dealt with the ILO budget, adopting a net expenditure budget of \$26,612,739 for calendar year 1969, compared with \$24,836,091 for 1968. The U.S. Government, which contributes 25% of the assessed budget, voted for the resolution adopting the 1969 expenditure budget and income budget (scale of assessments). It had voted against the 1968 budget because of its objection to adjustments in the scale of assessments which envisaged a series of future changes of the scale involving eventual increases of the U.S. assessment above its present 25%. The 1969 scale of assessments, however, while including further adjustments of the scale, was not predicated on a planned alignment of the ILO scale with the U.N. scale, which would have subjected the U.S. assessment rate to future increases.

GOVERNING BODY

The ILO Governing Body met three times during 1968. It also is

tripartite, having 24 government members (10 states of chief industrial importance have automatic membership and 14 states are elected for 3-year terms by the government group of the Conference), and 12 employer and 12 worker members elected by their respective groups in the Conference.

The Governing Body reviews the budget and transmits its recommendations on it to the Conference; supervises the International Labor Office (secretariat); determines the agenda of the Conference; appoints, convenes, and reviews the work of various tripartite industrial committees, committees of experts, and other bodies; reviews complaints of alleged violations of freedom of association; and, generally, acts as the Board of Directors of the organization.

On June 26 the Governing Body unanimously elected George L-P Weaver, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Labor and U.S. Government Representative on the Governing Body, as its Chairman for a term of one year.

U.S. REPRESENTATION

Mr. Weaver served as chairman of the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Conference; George P. Delaney, Special Assistant to the Secretary and Coordinator of International Labor Affairs, Department of State, was the other U.S. Government Delegate. Edwin P. Neilan, Chairman of the Board and President, Bank of Delaware, was the employer delegate; and Rudolph Faupl, International Representative of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, was the worker delegate. Messrs. Faupl and Neilan also are members of the ILO Governing Body, having been elected by the worker and employer groups of the Conference, respectively. Senator Jacob K. Javits and Congressmen John Ashbrook, William H. Ayres, James G. O'Hara, and Frank Thompson, Jr., served

as congressional advisers to the U.S. delegation to the conference.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The United States has consistently supported the growth of ILO technical assistance activities. The cost of technical assistance activities financed from all sources—UNDP, regular ILO budget, funds-in-trust—came to about \$21,800,000 in 1968, of which about \$18,600,000 was funded by the UNDP. The geographic distribution of expenditures was: Africa 43%, Latin America 20.6%, Asia 21.9%, Middle East 6.1%, Europe 6.2%, and interregional projects 2.2%. More than half of the technical assistance was in the general field of human resources development, including manpower organization, vocational training, and productivity and management development. Work also continued in the fields of social security, occupational safety and health, vocational rehabilitation, labor conditions and administration, industrial relations, workers' education, and vocational rehabilitation.

To strengthen its operational programs, the ILO continued to decentralize its activities and expand its network of field offices, placing them under the control of regional coordinators. This results in a greater administrative responsibility in the field, a more rapid response to national and regional needs, and a more effective ILO operational program of technical assistance.

OTHER MEETINGS

The following meetings sponsored by the ILO—all of which the United States participated in—are illustrative of the technical matters on which the ILO promotes international cooperation. The ILO Textiles Committee discussed equal pay for men and women and measures to control better bysinosis (mill fever); a tripartite committee on mining considered safety standards

in mines; and committees of experts, *inter alia*, adopted a code of safety and health practices for crews of fishing vessels and considered the effects on dock workers of increased mechanization in cargo-handling methods.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

15TH GENERAL CONFERENCE

The 15th session of the UNESCO General Conference was held at the organization's headquarters in Paris October 15–November 20. William Benton, U.S. member of the Executive Board, headed the U.S. delegation and Dr. Alvin C. Eurich, Chairman of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, was Deputy Chairman.

The UNESCO General Conference meets every 2 years to discuss and approve the program and budget for the next 2 years. The program approved for 1969–70 continues to emphasize education and natural sciences, but it also calls for more activity in family planning. The budget was established at \$77,413,500 for the next 2 years, a level which, after deductions for miscellaneous income, results in a U.S. contribution of \$10,635,908 for 1969, compared with \$9,085,410 for 1968.

In the Conference's general discussion of programing beyond 1970, the U.S. delegation strongly advocated program continuity and long-term planning, and a strengthened social science program. The U.S. views were largely accepted.

The General Conference also adopted constitutional amendments enlarging the Executive Board from 30 to 34 members and setting the term of office at 6 years (instead of

4) without immediate reelection for any individual. As part of this revision, an electoral group system for elections to the Board was established for the 15th session as an experiment to ensure balanced representation of the member states. In the subsequent elections, the U.S. candidate, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Katie S. Louchheim was elected to the Executive Board, succeeding Senator Benton.

In a continuing effort to organize the work of UNESCO more efficiently and economically, the General Conference adopted a series of measures recommended by the Committee of 14 in 1966. The major innovations were the establishment of a system of evaluation and inspection and the adoption of a basis for long-term planning.

In 1968 three countries—the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, Mauritius, and Barbados—became members of UNESCO, raising the total membership to 125. Finally, the General Conference reelected René Maheu of France to another 6-year term as Director General.

EDUCATION

Education remained a priority sector of UNESCO in 1968 as it had been in previous years.

All of the developing countries face a severe educational problem in the gap between the desire and the opportunity for education. To help these countries develop their educational systems as well as to promote education in general, UNESCO continued to emphasize programs such as educational planning, teacher training, curriculum development, and promotion of new methods and techniques.

In 1968 UNESCO maintained three Educational Planning Centers—in Santiago for the Latin American states, in Beirut for the Arab states, and in New Delhi for the Asian

states. In addition, it sent expert missions in educational planning to 26 countries. Meanwhile, at headquarters in Paris, UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) increased its training activities in the field of educational planning and completed research projects on 22 countries. The most important IIEP publication in 1968, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis*, was a comparative examination of worldwide educational problems, originally presented as a working paper at the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education held in Williamsburg, Virginia, during October 1967.

The major activity of the IIEP during the year was the UNESCO International Conference on Educational Planning held in Paris in August. More than 300 delegates, including a U.S. delegation, attended this important conference, the major conclusions of which stressed the importance of education as a preliminary investment and the need to integrate education in overall economic and social planning.

UNESCO experts in teacher training worked in 34 countries, and UNESCO, with the assistance of the UNDP, administered 31 institutions for teacher training. Experimental adult literacy programs continued to operate in six countries where literacy was linked to job improvement, while 19 countries received expert missions to advise on their own literacy efforts. The annual \$5,000 Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Prize for work in literacy was awarded in 1968 to the Brazilian Movement for Fundamental Education, an organization that is teaching adults by radio in many of the less accessible areas of Brazil.

To take stock of the educational situation in Africa, UNESCO and the Organization of African Unity jointly convened a conference in Nairobi in July on "Education and Scientific and Technical Training

in Relation to Development in Africa." The 165 delegates from 36 African states agreed on the need for reform in primary education, the training of more African teachers, and the introduction of more scientific and technical education. The United States had an observer delegation at this conference.

UNESCO's program on life-long education places a sharp accent on youth problems, which were dramatized so vividly by the student strike which took place in Paris during the Executive Board meeting in the spring of 1968. The General Conference voted an additional \$165,000 for youth activities during the next biennium.

The General Conference also voted formally to take over the International Bureau of Education which then went out of existence at the end of the year. UNESCO agreed to retain the original name and Geneva location, and to continue the research and documentation activities of this small but old and well-regarded international organization.

(For UNESCO's work on preparations for the International Education Year see p. 74.)

NATURAL SCIENCES

In the application of science and technology to development, UNESCO administered 71 UNDP-financed projects—21 in the Middle East, 20 in Asia, 17 in Latin America, 9 in Africa, and 4 in Europe.

Thirteen ministers of science or education attended UNESCO's Conference on the Application of Science and Technology to the Development of Asia, convened in August in New Delhi in cooperation with ECAFE. The Conference, at which the United States was represented, urged Asian countries to aim for a minimum level of expenditure of 1% of their gross national product on research and development.

UNESCO intensified its activities

for the conservation of natural resources and the rational use of the environment (see p. 120). The 15th General Conference in November adopted the theme "Man and his environment—design for living" for future activities that will be concerned with both the physical and aesthetic aspects of the human environment.

In cooperation with the International Brain Research Organization, UNESCO sponsored a 5-day symposium in Paris in March on brain research and human behavior. Seventy-eight experts, including six Nobel Prize winners, took part in the symposium. Thirteen Americans were among the participants.

(For the work of UNESCO's Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission see p. 117.)

SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

The social sciences are essential to an understanding of, and help contribute solutions to, some of the complex problems—such as the population explosion and rapid urbanization—confronting society today.

In recognition of this fact, and at the urging of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, the United States actively promoted the strengthening of multilateral cooperation in the social sciences. This was a principal U.S. initiative at the General Conference, the U.S. delegation specifically identifying the following interdisciplinary activities for increased UNESCO social science attention: population and family planning, problems of human environment, social aspect of rural development, access of women to education and employment, sociocultural problems in the application of science and technology in developing societies, place of the social sciences in the science policies of member states, and research on human rights and peace problems.

The U.S. proposal to strengthen the UNESCO social science program was endorsed for future action by the General Conference, which also adopted a Swedish-sponsored resolution (supported by the United States) specifically on family planning.

(See p. 226 for UNESCO participation in the U.N. program of assistance in international law.)

CULTURE

UNESCO has become the vehicle for international cooperation in the preservation of cultural property, especially through the impetus provided by the Campaign to Save the Nubian Monuments and through the establishment of the International Center for the Study of Preservation and Conservation of Cultural Property in Rome.

1968 saw the completion of the major project in the Nubian Campaign, launched in 1960 to preserve the monuments in the area to be flooded as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam. The reconstruction of the two great temples of Abu Simbel on a site 200 feet above the original site was completed, and a dedication ceremony was held on September 22. The total cost of preservation of the temples was \$36 million, of which the United States voluntarily contributed \$12 million in Egyptian pounds drawn from U.S.-owned currencies in excess of U.S. needs.

Of particular interest to the United States was the shipment to New York of the Temple of Dendur, a gift from the U.A.R. to the United States in appreciation for its contribution to the preservation of Abu Simbel. The Temple will be reconstructed in a new wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Total cost of transportation and reconstruction has been borne by the Museum.)

In January UNESCO convened a Panel of International Experts in Tunis to deal with relationships between preservation of monuments

and economic development. This meeting was especially useful because it addressed itself to the question of national responsibility for protecting historical monuments and laid down recommended procedures for planning preservation.

Of special significance was the agreement in 1968 between UNESCO and Iran providing for collaboration in a program of cultural tourism. In its fourth 5-year plan Iran earmarked at least \$4 million for the restoration and development of certain monuments and sites. UNESCO is making available technical advisers, including Americans, and assisting in the training of Iranian personnel.

There were two important publications in the area of preservation—a manual on *The Conservation of Cultural Property* with special reference to tropical conditions, and the first issue of *Monumentum*, a biannual review of the International Council of Monuments and Sites for the exchange of information on problems of preservation.

The United States takes a special interest in the preservation of historic sites from the encroachments of road building, power plants, and other phenomena of the modernization and urbanization under way throughout the world. It therefore supported the development of the UNESCO Recommendation on the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public and Private Works which was approved in its final form by the 1968 General Conference. The Recommendation provides ideas, language, and stimulation for member countries in their individual preservation activities.

In July 1968 UNESCO convened an expert meeting on cultural centers in Budapest which considered the types and roles of cultural centers in making aesthetic experience as widely available as possible. Finally, in November the General Conference adopted cultural policy as a dominant theme for its future program.

COMMUNICATION

Twenty-two senior officials from various international broadcasting organizations met at UNESCO headquarters early in 1968 to study the use of space communication in bringing about freer transmission of news, the acceleration of education, and the wider dissemination of culture. The experts, including an American, urged international action to deal with the complex legal, social, and political problems inherent in the functioning of a world-wide system of space communication.

The United States attended, as an observer, a UNESCO-convened meeting in Accra, Ghana, which adopted a program to promote the production and distribution of books in Africa. Many African countries have no publishing arrangements at all, and only nine produce books in indigenous languages. African delegates stressed the need for capital assistance in the establishment and strengthening of domestic publishing facilities in Africa.

UNESCO continued to serve as an important vehicle for international cooperation in statistics. The General Conference authorized the drafting of a Recommendation for the International Standardization of Library Statistics, a project vigorously endorsed by U.S. archivists and librarians.

World Health Organization

In 1968 WHO prepared to enter a third decade of striving to achieve its constitutional objective of providing "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health" for all people of the world.

In a special message to the World Health Assembly on the occasion of WHO's 20th anniversary, President Johnson said:

The World Health Organization stands today on the threshold of a greater

opportunity and growing fulfillment in its goal of better health. It offers the kind of world leadership needed to strike a balance between a rapidly expanding population and critically needed resources. No cause is worthier of unanimous commitment—no task more urgent.

In the course of the year Southern Yemen joined the organization as a full member, Mauritius changed its status from associate to full member, and Bahrein joined as an associate member, bringing the total to 128 full and 3 associate members.

WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

The World Health Assembly, WHO's supreme governing body, annually reviews both current and proposed programs and determines WHO's general health policy. It also supervises the financial policies of the organization and reviews and approves the budget.

The 21st Assembly, held in Geneva May 6-24, took a number of significant actions in addition to considering the current status and future course of program activities. It reelected Dr. M. G. Candau of Brazil for a fourth 5-year term as Director General; and it rejected an East German application for membership.

At its 41st session in January, the Executive Board, whose functions include basic budget review, recommended that the Assembly adopt the Director General's effective working budget of \$60,645,800 for 1969. Additional staff costs raised the final figure to \$60,747,800 which was unanimously approved by the Assembly.

Twenty-eight members, including the United States, proposed a series of constitutional amendments designed to (1) create a biennial program and budgeting system, (2) convene the Assembly biennially rather than annually, and (3) change the nature of the composition of the Executive Board so that the members would be government representa-

tives. (At present the Assembly elects governments which are then entitled to designate technically qualified persons to serve on the Board who do so in their personal capacities and not as government representatives.) When it became clear that the amendments lacked the two-thirds majority needed for passage, they were withdrawn without prejudice to their future reintroduction.

The Assembly formally accepted a U.S. offer to host the 22d Assembly in Boston in July 1969, coinciding with the centennial celebration of the first state Department of Public Health in the United States.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

WHO's activities are divided in two general categories: (1) technical assistance to governments, and (2) the establishment of international standards of health, such as international quarantine regulations and biological standardization of pharmaceuticals.

The major emphasis is on assistance to governments. In 1968 WHO planned for more than 800 technical assistance projects (not counting separate fellowship awards) for individual members and intercountry and interregional activities. In addition to the appropriations from its Effective Working Budget, WHO received funds from other international organizations, most notably UNDP and UNICEF, and from voluntary contributions earmarked for specific activities. Total funds administered by WHO in 1968 exceeded \$93 million.

Reporting to the 21st World Health Assembly, Director General Candau cited the malaria and smallpox programs, family planning (population dynamics), health planning, and health manpower as continuing high priorities for WHO, with the highest priority assigned to manpower.

Dr. William Stewart, Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health

Service, in addressing the Assembly cited three ways in which the organization made a unique contribution to world health by taking on those activities that nations could not do equally well themselves; i.e., (1) concentrating on health problems that are truly international in character;

(2) assisting countries in dealing with disease problems across international boundaries; and

(3) undertaking to control and eradicate communicable diseases and important disease vectors.

Malaria

Malaria eradication efforts continued as the organization's largest single program. Of the 1.7 billion people living in originally malarious areas, 79% are now malaria free, or protected by malaria control and eradication programs. In 1968 three countries were added to the list of malaria-free countries, raising to 13 the number now entered in the WHO Official Register; an additional 22 claim eradication but have not yet officially registered it. The population covered by malaria control or eradication programs supported by multilateral and governmental activities totals 1.5 billion. WHO's malaria country programs are adapted to meet local needs. In Argentina, for example, they continued in preparatory, attack, and consolidation phases of an antimalaria campaign. In the Cameroons work began in a necessary preeradication program. WHO recognizes the desirability of more rapid progress in global eradication and is undertaking an in-depth study to reassess the global strategy of malaria eradication.

Smallpox

1968 was the second year in a decade-long, intensified, worldwide campaign to eliminate smallpox. Programs were scheduled in 24 of

the 29 endemic countries with particular emphasis on Africa. Typical is the Kenya project where WHO assisted in planning and implementing an inoculation campaign. In Brazil more than 10 million vaccinations have already been given.

Other Communicable Diseases

Programs involving other communicable diseases reflected the varied needs of the members. Illustrative were assistance to Afghanistan for expansion of tuberculosis control services and an expert evaluation of the progress in Cambodia in treponematoses control.

Environmental Health

The environmental health programs received major emphasis, with particular attention given to the development of adequate safe water supplies and sanitary facilities. Activities were scheduled for 120 projects in more than 75 nations. In Togo, for example, WHO sanitary engineers assisted in establishing an environmental health unit to aid the Ministry of Health in developing long-term sanitation programs; in Ceylon assistance was provided through programs for piped water supplies and in the management aspects of water supply schemes.

Health Promotion

The improvement of public health administration, a prime requisite in providing support for all other activity, received appropriate priority with some 154 projects planned in 94 countries. Again, these efforts can best be illustrated by examples. Burundi received assistance in planning and operation of health services, and Laos received assistance for its central public health laboratory, in rural development, and in rehabilitation services for the physically handicapped.

There were programs in 29 countries for improvement of maternal

and child health care. These often included a large element of work in family planning. In addition, more than 17 countries had directly requested WHO assistance in the health aspects of population dynamics. WHO neither endorses nor promotes any particular population policy, but recognizes that the problems of human reproduction involve both the family unit and society. WHO holds that family size is a free choice. A cornerstone in its family planning work is the basic research staff maintained at its headquarters in Geneva. Field programs are varied; a typical project is the maternal and child health program in Rwanda, where WHO experts advise on expanding and improving basic health services (specifically maternal and child health services) and personnel training.

Education and Training

As noted above, the Director General stressed the need for more health personnel. Many programs have a specific education and training component. In addition, every member state received assistance in education and training activities *per se*. This assistance ranged from the awarding of individual fellowships to provision of advisers to educational institutions. As in most WHO program activities, there were various regional programs. In Southeast Asia, these consisted of: (1) provision of medical textbooks and teaching equipment; (2) exchange of technical information; and (3) provision of consultants to assist in strengthening certain departments of medical colleges and to advise on modern methods of teaching.

In May, with the contribution of \$1 million, the United States entered into a funds-in-trust arrangement with WHO following a request from the Vietnamese Government to WHO for assistance in establishing a National Institute of Public Health. WHO will provide the experts to

train technicians, while the government will provide the site for the Institute. Subsequently the Netherlands agreed to contribute \$500,000 to WHO for this project. The plan of operations for the project was signed on November 24.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

WHO also continued its activities in other fields of worldwide interest. International Research Centers, of which some 40 are maintained in the United States, continued to collect and correlate findings in various public health problem areas through research undertaken in different circumstances throughout the world. The publication program, designed to provide the widest dissemination possible on public health matters, issued a variety of works including a summary of research in progress in the Western Hemisphere, and the continuing Technical Report series, which covers the work of WHO expert committees and scientific groups.

Finally, there is the work of the expert committees, each designed to study one of more than 50 topics. These committees, on which many Americans serve, draw upon the most authoritative knowledge available. Among the 18 areas examined in 1968 were food hygiene and the organization and administration of maternal and child health care.

International Civil Aviation Organization

ICAO continued to give attention to problems with respect to aircraft, passenger, freight, and customs facilitation at international airports; air navigation services; airport facilities; hijacking of aircraft; and carrier liability to passengers. ICAO also considered the major new requirements for facilities and environ-

mental control that will result from the introduction of jumbo jets and supersonic aircraft.

During the year Burundi joined ICAO bringing the total membership to 116.

16TH ASSEMBLY

The 16th session of the ICAO Assembly, attended by 103 of the 116 members, was held at Buenos Aires September 3-26. Acting upon the initiative of the United States and others, the Assembly noted the seriousness of the problem of hijacking of aircraft and adopted a resolution urging all countries to become parties as soon as possible to the Tokyo Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft. The resolution also invited countries even before ratification to give effect to the provisions of the Convention regarding the return of aircraft and release of passengers, and requested the ICAO Council to study other measures to cope with the problem. On September 25 President Johnson submitted to the Senate a request for advice and consent to ratification of the Tokyo Convention.

Subsequently, the ICAO Council in November unanimously adopted a resolution urging all ICAO member countries "to take all possible measures to prevent acts of unlawful seizure of aircraft and, where appropriate, to cooperate with any state whose aircraft has been the subject of such a seizure." The United States would have preferred an even stronger resolution against hijacking, and the Council adopted a U.S. suggestion that the question of unlawful seizure of aircraft should also be considered by a new Legal Subcommittee. The United States is a member of that Subcommittee.

The Assembly adopted two resolutions, both supported by the United States, on aircraft noise in the vicinity of airports and the problem of sonic boom connected with the com-

mercial introduction of supersonic aircraft. In the first resolution the Assembly instructed the ICAO Council to call a special conference on aircraft noise as soon as practicable, and to include in appropriate ICAO documents material on the measurement of noise and suitable limitations on the noise caused by aircraft in communities located in the vicinity of airports. The second resolution instructed the Council, in the light of information to be furnished by countries regarding the operating characteristics of supersonic aircraft and the results of their research into the effects of sonic boom, to ensure that ICAO documents take account of problems that such aircraft may create for the public, and to take action to achieve international agreement on the measurement of sonic boom and establishment of acceptable limits.

The Assembly also adopted a resolution authorizing the Council to receive voluntary contributions from both public and private sources in the form of scholarships, fellowships, training equipment, and funds for aeronautical technical training and to act as an intermediary between countries for grants of this kind.

Finally, despite the opposition of the United States and other major contributing nations, the ICAO Assembly adopted a resolution which included for the first time in the ICAO regular budget funds for each of the next 3 years to be used for fellowships and scholarships in aeronautical technical training. The United States opposed this resolution because it believes that technical assistance should be funded through the UNDP rather than the assessed budgets of the specialized agencies.

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN STATIONS PROGRAM

The Sixth ICAO Conference on North Atlantic Ocean Stations, held March 5-21 at ICAO's Paris office,

decided to maintain at least until June 30, 1973, the existing network of nine floating ocean stations in the North Atlantic. One of the main purposes of this network of vessels, operated by seven countries¹ and administered by ICAO, is to provide surface and upper-air weather observations. The WMO and ICAO will study the means by which the meteorological and other services still required for international civil aviation may best be provided after June 1973.

AIR TRANSPORT ACROSS INTERNATIONAL BORDERS

Representatives of 63 ICAO member countries, including the United States, and 11 international organizations attended the seventh session of ICAO's Facilitation Division May 14-30 at ICAO's headquarters in Montreal. The meeting considered the expeditious handling of customs, immigration, and public health inspection at international airports. These subjects will become even more important when, in addition to the anticipated general increase in international air traffic, high capacity jumbo jet aircraft that will expand the volume of passengers, cargo, and mail carried at one time are introduced. The meeting recommended a number of changes in ICAO Annex 9, which lays down the maximum requirements countries may impose and the minimum facilities they should provide in connection with the entry and departure of aircraft, passengers, and cargo at their international airports. The recommended changes concerned the elimination or amendment of aircraft documents, disinfection of aircraft, consolidation of clearance services at airports used by smaller aircraft, prompt clearance of export and import cargo, temporary importation of aircraft containers, and an increase in the time limit from

¹ Canada, France, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, United States.

24 hours to 3 days for passengers passing through a country without a visa. Other recommendations proposed the establishment of a panel of experts to study the possible use of a passport card suitable for mechanical inspection, the facilitation of the collection of passenger service charges, and the tax-free entry of aircraft ground equipment. On the initiative of the United States, the meeting also adopted a recommendation dealing with the comprehensive planning and development of international airport facilities for the next 7 to 12 years.

REVISION OF THE WARSAW CONVENTION

The ICAO Legal Subcommittee on the Revision of the Warsaw Convention as Amended by the Hague Protocol held its first meeting at Montreal November 18-29. The United States and 22 other ICAO member countries participating in the meeting agreed that the revised convention should aim at general acceptance; be adaptable to developments in air transport; promote uniformity in the law through establishment of a clear and simple system; be conducive to the expeditious settlement of claims at minimum legal costs; and provide both full compensation for a high percentage of claims and at the same time a reasonable protection for air carriers. The Subcommittee postponed consideration of the amount of liability limitation until more economic information is submitted to it by ICAO member countries. With respect to whether a carrier should lose the benefit of limitation of liability in the case of "wilful misconduct" on its part, the United States concurred in the Subcommittee's recommendation that absolute liability of the carrier should be the governing rule. Other issues discussed concerned the proportion of the total compensation which could be attributed to legal costs,

the question of a periodic revision of the limits of liability, and the question of notice of limitation of liability now required to be given by the carrier to passengers.

The International Air Transport Association (IATA) observer presented a proposal based on a rule of absolute liability with a single limit which was intended to ensure full compensation for the vast majority of claims. The limit could not be broken due to lack of notice of wilful misconduct. Compensation to claimants would be speedy, with litigation and legal costs normally confined to inclusion in the amount of compensation. The IATA proposal would protect the carriers against catastrophic risks. No action was taken on this proposal. The Subcommittee recommended reconvening in September 1969 to complete its revision of the Warsaw Convention.

MIDDLE EAST/SOUTH ASIA REGIONAL AIR NAVIGATION MEETING

The United States was one of 29 ICAO member countries, either located within ICAO's Middle East and South Asia air navigation regions or operating air services through them, that attended the regional air navigation meeting held at Manila November 19-December 13. This meeting updated the air navigation plans for the two regions, taking into account the forthcoming introduction into service of jumbo jet aircraft and prospective operations by supersonic transport aircraft. To assure continued safe air transportation in this area of the world, the meeting revised the requirements for airports, runway lengths, meteorological and communication services, navigational aids, air traffic control, flight information, and search-and-rescue. New facilities were designated for Category II aircraft operations (visibility down to 1,800 feet) at major airports throughout the region.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

IMCO continued its efforts to devise international standards which would prevent, or at least mitigate, the effects of oil pollution from marine disasters such as that caused by the wreck of the tanker *Torrey Canyon* off the southwest coast of England in 1967. The United States is a member of IMCO's Maritime Safety Committee, which recommended measures that were approved by an extraordinary session of the IMCO Assembly, held in London in November 1968. These measures included amendments to the 1960 International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea requiring ships on international voyages to be fitted with certain navigational equipment, including radar, and to carry up-to-date nautical publications. A number of other recommendations were also formulated for preventing and detecting oil spillage and improving safety of navigation. In addition, the extraordinary Assembly adopted a series of recommendations for establishing traffic separation schemes at sea to minimize the possibility of collisions between tankers, whose size and oil-carrying capability are constantly increasing.

In the field of marine law IMCO's Legal Committee, of which the United States is a member, developed the text of two proposed conventions: one on public law, governing the rights of coastal states to take prompt preventive action to prevent pollution following a marine accident; and one on private law, governing questions of liability of shipowners for marine pollution and establishing the rights of third parties, such as owners of shore property, to sue for damages. The Assembly con-

sidered that the texts of the proposed conventions were well enough advanced to justify the calling of an international conference to consider and adopt them, or some modification thereof; this conference, to be held under the sponsorship of IMCO, is scheduled for Brussels in November 1969.

During the year the United States attended several meetings of the Subcommittee on Tonnage Measurement which developed proposals for a universal system of tonnage measurement. Three such proposals were circulated to all IMCO members prior to the convening in 1969 of an international conference to unify and simplify the rules on tonnage measurement of ships. This conference will climax IMCO's work in this important technical field which has been in progress since the early days of the organization.

Work continued in many other areas of IMCO's involvement in technical matters relating to the safety of life and property at sea. Included in these subjects were life-saving appliances, subdivision and stability, the carriage of dangerous goods, fire protection, as well as facilitation measures to reduce the expense and volume of documents required on a vessel's business in foreign ports.

During the year Peru and Uruguay joined IMCO bringing the total membership to 67 full members and 1 associate member by the end of the year.

International Telecommunication Union

The ITU continued to maintain and extend international cooperation for the improvement and rational use of telecommunications of all kinds and to harmonize the actions of nations in the attainment of these

common objectives. A major concern was the development of technical information on satellite communications which would assist the organization in preparing for the World Administrative Radio Conference on Space Telecommunications, tentatively scheduled for late 1970 or early 1971.

The accession of Southern Yemen and Botswana to the International Telecommunication Convention during 1968 raised the total membership to 135.

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

The 29-nation Administrative Council, of which the United States is a member, met at ITU Headquarters in Geneva, May 11-31, and elected Richard Butler of Australia to fill the post of Deputy Secretary General which had become vacant on the elevation of Dr. Mohamed Mili of Tunisia to the Secretary General position.

The Council decided to convene a World Administrative Radio Conference on Space Telecommunications, but left until its 1969 meeting the determination of final agenda, date, and place.

The Charter Study Group, 10 experts selected in 1966, was asked to complete its draft of a new constitution and regulations for the ITU in sufficient time to permit their circulation to member states prior to the next Plenipotentiary Conference in 1971. The Charter Study Group, which includes a U.S. official among its members, will prepare the draft regulations to accompany the proposed constitution during 1969.

A 1969 gross budget of 22,729,000 Swiss francs was adopted, a reduction of 1,735,000 francs from the budget submitted by the Secretary General. The assessment against members is 21,876,000 francs; the U.S. share, 11.62%, is 2,541,000 francs (\$592,308).

The Council agreed to a reorgani-

zation of its general secretariat and generally approved a proposed reorganization of the Technical Cooperation Department but, in view of the short time the latter organization had been in effect, decided to review this reorganization further at its 1969 session. The Secretary General was authorized to proceed with the construction of an annex to the headquarters building large enough to accommodate 200-250 people.

INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (CCITT)

The United States is a member of the CCITT, which studies technical, operating, and tariff questions concerning telegraphy and telephony and issues recommendations on them. The CCITT convened a number of working groups and study groups during the year to make recommendations concerning the revision of the International Telegraph Regulations, telegraph charges and tariffs, adoption of a charge unit for the settlement of international accounts, and the sharing of charges applicable to the leasing of international circuits.

The fourth plenary assembly of the CCITT, held at Mar del Plata, Argentina, October 14-25, reviewed the work of the 14 study groups on telegraph and telephone telecommunications, approved a work program for 1969-72, and adopted recommendations that will govern international communications for the next 4 years. These recommendations represent significant progress in the fields of telephone transmission, switching and signaling modes, and in the further development of automatic and semiautomatic telecommunications networks. Attention was given to the integration of the satellite mode, not only in recommendations adopted, but also in a set of new technical questions for future study in preparation for the projected World Administra-

tive Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications.

INTERNATIONAL RADIO CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (CCIR)

The CCIR held 13 study group meetings on various technical and standardization questions, such as sound and video recording; low, medium, and high frequency broadcasting; satellite broadcasting; and space systems and radioastronomy. A joint CCIR-CCITT group met on system specifications for television transmissions. The United States participated actively in all work of the study groups and was a major contributor of papers covering the technical questions considered. Schedules were established for the final meetings in 1969 of the 14 study groups and the joint CCIR-CCITT group before the 22d plenary assembly to be held in New Delhi early in 1970.

INTERNATIONAL FREQUENCY REGISTRATION BOARD (IFRB)

In a realignment of functions, the administrative control of the computer section was transferred from the IFRB to the general secretariat. The IFRB remained the major user, however, and initiated a new program which, by applying advanced electronic computer techniques, will improve and expedite its work of technical examination and registration of radio frequency notifications.

The IFRB conducted a 2-week seminar on radio frequency management designed to assist the developing countries in gaining greater expertise in this field. The seminar was aided by two expert lecturers from the United States.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

As an executing agency for UNDP-financed projects, the ITU continued in 1968 its program of technical assistance to developing countries. Five regional projects in

Africa, Asia and the Far East, and the Americas were continued. Fifty-five programs requiring the recruitment of technical experts and project assistance on either a regional or national level were initiated or continued during the year. Forty-three additional fellowships for advanced study were authorized for 1968, bringing the total to about 350 fellowships awarded for technicians from the developing countries.

The United Kingdom, the Republic of China, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan all sponsored seminars to assist technicians from developing countries to increase their skills in specialized telecommunications activities such as satellite earth station planning and operation, transistor electronics, electronic computer applications, operations of multiplex communications systems, progress in microwave systems and technique, and radio and cable communications and relay linkage. Israel offered a 12-month training course on transmission and microwaves for candidates from developing countries.

Universal Postal Union

The UPU sets rates, classifications, and standards for movement of international mail among member postal administrations. In 1968 Botswana and Southern Yemen joined the Union, bringing total membership to 138. During the year the UPU continued to work closely with the United Nations, especially in efforts to improve cooperation between advanced and developing nations and to finance technical assistance programs.

As an active participant in UPU activities, the United States is a member of both the Executive and the Management Councils, the bodies responsible for the continuing work of the Union between Congresses. During 1968 the Executive

Council met in Bern in May and the Management Council in Moscow in September. The Executive Council dealt primarily with completing the tasks entrusted to it by the 1964 Congress at Vienna; the formulation of relevant proposals for the next Congress, scheduled for Tokyo in 1969; and administrative and budgetary matters. The Management Council, essentially a study group, completed its 5-year cycle of technical, economic, and operational postal studies, and prepared its report for the Tokyo Congress.

TECHNICAL COOPERATION

At the Executive Council meeting it was announced that the UNDP had increased to \$1,085,478 the funds available to finance postal projects during the 1967-68 biennium. Of this sum, \$579,416 was to be spent in 1968 in support of expert missions to developing countries, and to provide fellowships allowing postal officials from such countries to participate in training programs offered by advanced countries and by regional postal unions. Some 152 individual fellowships were provided through the UNDP for the biennium, and pledges to the Special Fund of the UPU were sufficient for another 49.

The UPU also supported efforts to establish regional postal training schools, including an Arab Higher Institute in Damascus, and a school in Bangkok to serve the Asian-Oceanic Postal Union. Consideration was given to seeking UNDP support for a school serving the African and Malagasy Postal and Telecommunications Union.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The Executive Council approved a total budget for calendar year 1968 of \$1,420,250, of which the U.S. share was approximately \$61,100. A

draft 1969 budget was also presented, detailing expenditures of \$1,713,800, of which the U.S. share will be approximately \$73,000.

The Executive Council approved several recommendations of the Committee of 14 including UPU participation in the U.N. Joint Inspection Unit. The United States supported the Council decision, however, that the biennial budget cycle recommended by the Committee of 14 was not suitable for the UPU, whose Congresses meet every 5 years.

A major development at the Executive Council meeting was the announcement by the Swiss Government of its desire to withdraw from its remaining special duties toward the UPU. The abolition of the Swiss supervisory authority will do away with Swiss responsibility for the UPU staff regulations and budgetary procedures. It will also terminate the annual Swiss advance of working funds. New procedures for the administration and financing of the UPU's activities will be drawn up at the 1969 session of the Executive Council and placed before the Tokyo Congress for approval.

INTERNATIONAL POSTAL COMMUNICATION MATTERS

One of the tasks given the Executive Council by the 1964 Congress was the development of proposals to simplify conditions for receiving and processing international mail. The proposals drafted will reduce the number of categories of letter mail subject to different rate schedules, and will also reduce radically the number of weight steps used to calculate the postage rate for a given category of mail.

Another issue discussed extensively at the Executive Council meeting constituted a challenge by the developing countries and a few developed countries of the continued uniform applicability of one of the basic principles of the UPU—that

the distribution of international mail is balanced, and therefore each postal administration should retain the money it collects from the public and deliver incoming foreign mail without charge to the originating countries. This system saves the expense of a costly accounting system. The Council established a special study group to devise an administratively feasible system for reimbursing countries that receive substantially more mail (other than first class) than they send out.

The Management Council approved a proposal, to be submitted to the next Congress, relating to the standardization of envelopes, which would allow postal administrations to charge higher rates for mail not conforming to standards incorporated in the UPU Convention.

World Meteorological Organization

WORLD WEATHER WATCH

On May 29, 1968, the U.S. Congress passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 67 recognizing the role of the WMO in the initiation and implementation of the World Weather Watch (WWW). This resolution stated that it was the sense of the Congress that the United States should participate in and give full support to the WWW, that the President should cooperate with other nations in pursuing the program, and finally that the President should transmit to the Congress a plan setting forth the proposed participation of the United States for the next fiscal year in international programs on meteorology.

The President subsequently sent a memorandum on July 5 to the heads of various departments and agencies concerned with the WWW in which

he pledged the full participation of the United States in the development of the WWW through the WMO.

The WWW was launched in 1968 to achieve the following principal goals during its first 4 years: (1) substantial improvement in the global observing system, (2) implementation of the global data processing systems, (3) improvement of the global telecommunications system, (4) acceleration of the program to educate and train meteorologists, and (5) planning of a global atmospheric research program.

Adequate weather data is generally unavailable for over 80% of the earth's surface, primarily the oceans and developing countries. The successful implementation of the WWW plan should improve weather forecasting for such end-users as farmers and the construction, transportation, and fisheries industries.

Under the WWW, each of the 132 WMO members is called upon to implement needed improvements in observations, data processing, and communications in their territories. To the extent that members lack foreign exchange resources to obtain equipment required for the implementation of the WWW in their territories, the WMO Voluntary Assistance Program (VAP) established by the fifth WMO Congress in 1967 can assist them with equipment such as rawinsonde ground equipment, observation balloons, radiosondes, and receiving and transmitting communications equipment. The VAP assistance is provided only to the extent that assistance is not available under UNDP or other bilateral or multilateral arrangements. The assisted countries provide local facilities and personnel.

At its annual meeting in May-June, the WMO Executive Committee, of which the United States is a member, reviewed requests from developing countries for assistance under VAP to implement the WWW plan and approved 150 projects in

56 countries. These projects were circulated to member states with an invitation from the WMO Secretary General that they provide the assistance requested. Assistance was provided for a number of these projects during 1968.

The United States did not contribute to these VAP projects during 1968 but pledged a contribution of up to \$1.5 million for 1969, funds for which have been appropriated. This contribution was pledged in two parts:

(1) \$200,000 to the Voluntary Assistance Fund of VAP on the basis of matching at a 40% rate the total unrestricted cash contributions of all other WMO members; and

(2) \$1,300,000 for contributions-in-kind to the Equipment and Services Program of VAP.

These contributions will consist of U.S. equipment, experts and services, and the training in the United States of persons from developing countries in the field of meteorology. This program will be administered by the Environmental Science Services Administration.

RELATED ACTIVITIES

In 1968 the WMO Executive Committee established a Panel on Meteorological Aspects of Ocean Affairs (the United States is a member) to serve as a focal point for the consideration of this subject in the WMO and to work closely with the Working Committee of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission on an Integrated Global Ocean Station System (IGOSS). The Executive Committee asked for the closest collaboration with the latter to ensure that there is consistency in the planning and implementation of the IGOSS on the one hand, and the planning and implementation of the WWW on the other, in the interest of achieving the most effective and efficient system for the

acquisition, communication, processing, and dissemination of both oceanic and atmospheric information.

The United States is also a member of the WMO Commission for Maritime Meteorology which met at the University of Rhode Island August 19-30. The main theme of the meeting was that the sciences of meteorology and oceanography are inextricably interwoven—scientifically, technologically, and operationally. The Commission recommended that the WMO participate in such coordinated long-term programs of research projects designed to increase the knowledge of the ocean as the proposed International Decade of Ocean Exploration (see pp. 22 and 116).

The Commission continued its efforts to improve the network of surface and upper-air observations over all ocean areas. Criteria were developed to serve as a guide for the future formulation of codes for reporting marine environmental data. As a result of planning studies conducted by the WWW, the Commission adopted several recommendations to accelerate the delivery of ship weather reports to coastal radio stations and thence to designated processing centers.

The U.N. General Assembly, in the resolution it adopted at its 23d session on international cooperation in problems related to the oceans (see p. 118), recognized the importance of the meteorological aspects of ocean science and called upon the WMO to continue its activities in this field in close cooperation with other interested organizations.

The WMO Commission for Hydrometeorology met in Geneva, September 9-21. It reviewed progress being made in a number of technical fields, including the design of observing networks for hydrology, techniques for measuring water levels

and stream discharge, evaporation from lakes, development of improved methods of hydrological forecasting, the importance of the WWW to hydrology, and the need for improved weather forecasts for hydrological purposes. Following consideration of a long-term plan of action in the field of hydrology, the Commission recommended that its terms of reference be broadened, its name changed to Commission for Hydrology, and an intergovernmental conference convened to consider WMO's future work in hydrology. These recommendations will be considered by the WMO Executive Committee at its 1969 session. Max A. Kohler of the U.S. Environmental Science Services Administration was President of the Commission at this meeting.

The first meeting of the Typhoon Committee, established in 1967 under the joint auspices of ECAFE and WMO, met in Bangkok December 17-20. The Committee reviewed requirements and deficiencies in the region and exchanged views on how to improve existing forecasting and warning systems relating to typhoons. It decided to postpone the establishment of a regional typhoon center. The following are now members of this Committee: Republic of China, Hong Kong, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos, Philippines, and Thailand.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The WMO serves as executing agency for UNDP projects pertaining to meteorology and hydrometeorology. About 80 countries and territories received technical assistance during 1968, and 11 large-scale Special Fund projects in meteorology and hydrometeorology are now being executed by the WMO. There were two new Special Fund projects started during the year: (1) development of the meteorological services

of Afghanistan, and (2) expansion of the meteorological and hydrometeorological services of Mongolia.

U.S. SATELLITES

During 1968 the United States launched two new operational satellites: ESSA 7 and ESSA 8. Of these, ESSA 8 carries Automatic Picture Transmission System (APT) cameras, enabling users throughout the world to receive pictures on local inexpensive ground equipment. These operational satellites and two earlier weather satellites (ESSA 5 and ESSA 6) that continue to perform satisfactorily enable the United States to make available data on weather conditions to all nations of the world. In addition a weather facsimile transmission, employing the newly launched Advanced Technological Satellite (ATS-3), located in a stationary orbit over the Atlantic, and the ATS-1, in a stationary orbit over the Pacific, have proved successful for reception at American and foreign APT stations. Films made from these ATS pictures have been of considerable value in studying the development of tropical storms, tornadoes, and other meteorological phenomena. These films have been made available to the meteorological services of other nations.

International Atomic Energy Agency

The IAEA has two broad lines of activity: it actively promotes the peaceful uses of atomic energy among its members; and it ensures, as far as it is able, that assistance provided by it, or at its request, or under its supervision or control, is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose. Moreover on June 12 the

U.N. General Assembly commended the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) (see p. 6). This Treaty calls upon the non-nuclear-weapon parties to accept safeguards controls as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated with the IAEA. Thus, when the Treaty comes into force, the IAEA, until now primarily a scientific organization, will become an important institution for maintaining world peace.

Preparations for the IAEA's role under the NPT have already begun in consultation with member states. Although a 1- or 2-year transition period is expected before the IAEA is called upon to exercise its NPT safeguards function to any significant degree, the Agency has already developed detailed inspection procedures and methods for large-scale safeguarding operations, and it is accelerating other steps to place itself in the best possible position to undertake these enlarged responsibilities.

The NPT also provides that potential benefits from peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be obtainable through an appropriate international body. At its meeting in September, the IAEA General Conference declared that the IAEA could effectively perform the role envisaged by the NPT for "an appropriate international body." It directed its Director General to initiate studies of the procedures the Agency should employ in performing such a role and requested the Board of Governors to review these studies and to report on them to the General Conference in 1969.

SAFEGUARDS

Independently of NPT preparations, the IAEA safeguards activities expanded with the coming into force of a number of agreements previously approved and the conclusion of several new ones. Probably the most significant of the new agreements is

that with Mexico for the application of IAEA safeguards to its entire nuclear program in accordance with the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. This is the first time that the IAEA has been asked to apply its safeguards to all nuclear activities in a member state.

Other safeguards agreements signed in 1968 bring the current total of such agreements to 40, involving 105 reactors and other nuclear facilities in 30 countries. All IAEA member states in Latin America, the Far East, and the region of Southeast Asia and the Pacific that have reactor programs, now have agreements with the IAEA to ensure that these reactors are used only for peaceful purposes.

In June the Board of Governors approved the extension of the safeguards system to cover plants for the manufacture of nuclear fuel. As originally approved in 1965, the system covered only reactors; in 1966, it was extended to plants for reprocessing spent reactor fuel.

In view of the likelihood that safeguards will soon have to be applied to conversion and fabrication plants, and in due course to comprehensive nuclear complexes, a vigorous safeguards research and development program has been initiated, and the IAEA has established a Division of Development in the Department of Safeguards. The Agency maintains close contacts with member states in order to achieve coordination of effort among national programs; and, to a limited extent, work in this field is being carried out by the staff of the IAEA and under IAEA contracts. In addition, the Agency is conducting a series of expert panel meetings on the application of safeguards. Meetings have been held on procedures involving reactors and chemical processing plants, and future meetings will consider fuel fabrication facilities, systems analysis, and research and development.

NUCLEAR POWER AND REACTORS

In view of the increase in the number and capacity of nuclear power plants on order or being built throughout the world, the IAEA provides its members with practical services in the development of nuclear power—such as advice on economic studies, reactor siting and safety, evaluation of bids for supplying reactor facilities, problems of fuel supply, and improvements in the fuel cycle economy of existing systems.

Several important conferences were convened by the IAEA in 1968 to assess the latest developments in nuclear power—these covered such subjects as gas-cooled reactors, hydrodynamic generation of electric power, and nuclear fusion.

In the field of nuclear desalination of water, the IAEA was chief sponsor and chairman of the IAEA/Mexico/United States feasibility study of a large dual-purpose plant for location near the head of the Gulf of California to supply water and power to the arid region in northwestern Mexico (Sonora and Baja California) and the southwestern United States (Arizona and California). The most significant conclusion of the study is that such nuclear desalting plants are a technically feasible approach to providing water to the region under study. The report of the study group is under consideration by the Governments of Mexico and the United States.

The IAEA accepted an invitation to participate and assist in a study undertaken in 1968 at the Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge National Laboratory on the potential of nuclear-powered energy centers or agro-industrial complexes to provide large amounts of fresh water and electricity for the development of the arid regions of the Middle East. The study will serve, in part, as a response to Senate Resolution 155, adopted in December 1967,

calling on the administration to consider the application of large-scale nuclear desalting plants as a means of supporting a stable and durable peace in the Middle East.

In addition the IAEA convened an international symposium on nuclear desalination at Madrid and published a general "Guide to the Cost of Water from Nuclear Desalination Plants."

ISOTOPES AND RADIATION SOURCES

The IAEA continued its work in the fields of soil fertility, irrigation, radiation entomology, pesticide residues and food protection, plant breeding and genetics, animal production and disease control, and food irradiation. The IAEA's program on nuclear medicine and radiation biology concentrated on the physical aspects of nuclear medicine and supported research particularly on diseases such as parasitic infections, deficiency diseases, and tropical anemias that affect the tropical and subtropical areas. The IAEA continued its complementary survey within the program of the International Hydrological Decade (see p. 118) to measure the discharge of tritium from the continents into the oceans. Two programs involving ocean sampling of radioactive and stable isotopes were carried out at the Agency's Monaco Laboratory, and the IAEA sponsored research on the application of isotope techniques in hydrology. In addition it convened several international meetings on radioisotope applications in industry.

HEALTH, SAFETY, AND WASTE MANAGEMENT

The trend of IAEA's activities in health, safety, and waste management is toward assisting developing countries to apply the standards and techniques that have already been developed by IAEA and advanced countries. Extensive use has been

made of international panels of experts to draft standards and manuals, and to advise on programs and the organization of regional study groups and training courses. The Agency's Regulations for Safe Transport of Radioactive Materials were recently revised and almost all international transport organizations have brought their regulations into line with them. In cooperation with WHO and FAO, the IAEA began a manual on plans that should be made to handle radiation accidents.

RESEARCH AND SERVICES IN PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Most of IAEA's work in the physical sciences is designed to promote the exchange of information through such means as convening scientific meetings and to coordinate work on selected topics. The IAEA's Nuclear Data Unit, one of four worldwide compilation centers, has moved further toward its objective of ensuring international exchange in computerized form of all available neutron cross section information. The operations of the IAEA-sponsored International Center for Theoretical Physics at Trieste proceeded under a new agreement with the Italian Government signed December 5, 1967, which ensures continuation until 1974. The IAEA laboratories in Vienna and Seibersdorf, Austria, and its Marine Radioactivity Laboratory at Monaco continued to undertake original research and to provide services for member states.

INFORMATION AND TECHNICAL SERVICES

In 1968 the IAEA made progress in the development of a reference design for the International Nuclear Information System (INIS), which will coordinate information processing under the major national and regional programs. The microfiche clearinghouse, which is one com-

ponent of the INIS project, came into operation and began supplying microfiche copies of the reports the IAEA library receives. The IAEA has developed a "Generalized Information Processing System" to code bibliographic and other data for information retrieval; the system is being adapted to use magnetic tapes of material included in "Nuclear Science Abstracts" published by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

During 1968, \$977,000 was allocated from IAEA resources to provide expert services and equipment for 63 technical assistance projects in 42 member states; in addition work continued on 73 projects initiated during previous years in 36 countries. Most of these projects involved either radioisotope application in agriculture, medicine, and food preservation, or activities in radiation protection.

Over 120 IAEA experts served in 48 countries; more than 300 fellowships for training were awarded; and a dozen seminars, training courses, and study tours were organized.

In the 10 years of its operation, the IAEA Technical Assistance Program has provided more than \$30 million in assistance to developing countries. It has furnished the services of over 1,000 experts and has sponsored over 70 training courses, attended by more than 1,200 people. It has provided equipment valued at over \$4 million in conjunction with the assignment of experts.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The work of the IAEA is supported by a regular or administrative budget, financed by assessments levied on member states, and by an operational budget, financed from voluntary contributions by member states and from other sources. The

operational budget covers all technical assistance activities other than those carried out by the IAEA on behalf of the UNDP.

At its 12th regular session, September 24–October 4, the IAEA General Conference adopted an administrative budget for 1969 of \$11,251,000, an increase of 7.4% over 1968, and a scale of assessments under which the United States would pay 31.57% compared to its 1968 rate of 31.86%. The General Conference further adopted an operational budget of \$2,512,000 of which \$2,000,000 was the target for voluntary contributions with the re-

mainder to be funded from special contributions and other sources. In respect to the operational budget the United States announced that it would contribute, subject to the availability of funds, an amount equivalent to 32.5% of all unrestricted cash contributions of member states. The United States also planned to donate contributions-in-kind (fellowships for study in the United States, the services of U.S. experts, and small equipment grants) and supplementary support through research contracts, gifts of special nuclear fuel, library materials, and films.

*Trusteeship and
Dependent
Areas*

Part Three

Trusteeship Council

The 35th regular session of the Trusteeship Council convened on May 27 and met regularly until June 19. The Council was comprised of two administering states—Australia and the United States—and five nonadministering states—China, France, Liberia, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R.—all of them, except Liberia, whose term expired at the end of the year, automatically members under the U.N. Charter. At the opening meeting Eugenie Anderson of the United States and Paul H. Gaschnard of France were elected President and Vice President.

The Council examined conditions in the two territories remaining under the international trusteeship system: the Pacific Islands (administered by the United States) and New Guinea (administered by Australia). Prior to the Council meeting the Trust Territory of Nauru (which had been administered by Australia on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom) ceased to exist with the accession to independence of the Republic of Nauru on January 31. At that time New Zealand left the Council, no longer being an administering authority, and the United Kingdom, as a permanent member of the Security Council, transferred to the nonadministering category.

In accordance with the Charter, the Council submitted its report on the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Security Council and its report on New Guinea to the General Assembly. The Security Council, which in 1949 had requested the Trusteeship Council to perform on its behalf the functions specified in the Charter relating to the political, economic, social, and educational advancement

of strategic areas, did not discuss the report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. After considering the Trusteeship Council's report, the General Assembly on December 18 adopted one resolution and rejected another on the subject of New Guinea (see p. 175).

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of over 2,000 islands and atolls, having a combined land area of about 700 square miles, scattered over an ocean area of some 3 million square miles. The islands are in the western Pacific Ocean north of the Equator and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the north, the Carolines in the center and west, and the Marshalls in the east. The population is estimated at 94,469.

Prior to World War II, Japan administered the islands under a League of Nations mandate; during the war they passed under U.S. administration. On July 18, 1947, the U.S. Government and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust. The only strategic trust territory, it has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

During the Trusteeship Council consideration of the Pacific Islands from May 27 to June 5, the United States was represented by Ambassador Finger, Alternate U.S. Representative. William R. Norwood, High Commissioner of the Trust

Territory, was Special Representative; Isaac Lanwi and Jacob Sawaichi, members of the territory's legislature, the Congress of Micronesia, were advisers.

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

The U.S. Representative said that, while not wishing to underestimate the problems facing the territory, the United States wished to make clear its determination to move forward. He informed the Council that the President had proposed to the U.S. Congress that a status commission be established to examine the future of the territory, aimed at early implementation of the right of self-determination.

The Special Representative said the past year had seen a quickening pace of events in Micronesia which were propelling it into the modern world. The political development of the territory had continued with the Congress of Micronesia passing major legislation to establish a social security system, to deal with land claims, and to establish its own status commission to study the territory's possible future. The administration had continued its efforts to plan systematically for the future and had contracted with Hawaii Architects and Engineers to prepare master development plans for key urban centers.

As for the economic outlook, the Special Representative reported that jet air service had been established in the islands. The service linked the territory with Hawaii and Okinawa and called for the establishment of tourist hotels in the six districts.

He said that in the field of education a major shift had been made toward more vocational training without seriously weakening the program of general studies. The Peace Corps, which continued to play a major role in education, also had undertaken a household census which included data on health. This information would be of great assistance in planning

health programs for the territory.

In conclusion, the Special Representative acknowledged that while much progress had been made the gains in all areas had not been uniform. In particular, much remained to be done, he said, to assist the inhabitants of remote islands, and more effort had to be made in training, qualifying, and assigning Micronesians to senior administrative positions. The administration would continue to work toward these goals.

Senator Lanwi said that although not wishing to dismiss past accomplishments, he believed that of the many problems facing the territory two were of major importance. The first was the need for the administration to recruit more qualified professional, technical, managerial, and administrative personnel. Too often good programs had failed as a result of inadequate staff. The second need was for the administration to allow Micronesians from a broad spectrum of the community to share and participate in decisionmaking with respect to program initiation and implementation. Only in this way could Micronesia prepare itself for self-determination.

Congressman Sawaichi said that in the past year there had been a growing desire among Micronesians to get on with the job of nation-building, to prepare for the time when the territory's political status could be determined. In doing so, one had to look at the results of past development and educational efforts, which he felt were very limited. Emphasis was needed on programs that would have concrete results, such as: (1) building up the Micronesian civil service, (2) making government at all levels more responsive to the people, (3) shifting from program evaluation to implementation, and (4) forming a development plan to be carried out with firmness and with adequate resources. In this way he was hopeful Micronesia might soon decide on its future political status.

PETITIONS

The Trusteeship Council considered six petitions concerning the Pacific Islands. Two of these—one from the people of the Ngardmau and Ngaremlengui municipalities, the other from the Palau District Legislature—concerned land settlements and involved requests that certain land be returned to municipalities and/or original owners. The United States in its written observations pointed out that the problems of land ownership in the territory were complex, dating back to the Japanese and even German administrations, but that the administration was making every effort to make an equitable settlement of these and like disputes.

Two of the petitions related to the current living conditions of former residents of Bikini Atoll and Eniwetok Atoll and their desire to return to their homes. The U.S. written observation pointed out that in both cases the people of these atolls had been compensated and assisted at the time of resettlement; acknowledged that problems existed in their new homes, but stated steps had been taken to correct them; and announced that in the case of Bikini a survey was being made to determine if the atoll was safe for resettlement, with the results to be released shortly.

The remaining two petitions dealt with a request for free entry for Micronesians into the United States, and living conditions on Ebeye in Kwajalein Atoll. The United States reported that legislation had been introduced in the U.S. Congress to grant the first request. As for Ebeye, the Special Representative said the administration was taking steps to correct conditions which admittedly had not previously been up to standard.

In all cases the Council agreed to take note of the petitions and the explanations offered, and to draw the petitioners' attention to the proceedings.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL REPORT

The Trusteeship Council noted in its report to the Security Council the U.S. Representative's statement that, although final settlement had still not been reached, his government had made concrete proposals to the Government of Japan envisaging a joint disposition of the Micronesian war claims question and that both governments intended to pursue the matter vigorously. The Council again urged settlement with the least possible delay and reiterated its suggestion that consideration be given to employing the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General in this regard. The Council also noted that the United States still had the post-war claims against it under advisement and had established a filing deadline for such claims. The Council again urged an early solution. It noted with satisfaction the establishment by act of the Congress of Micronesia of a Board of Land Survey Examiners to attempt to settle the long-standing problems of land ownership and expressed the hope that this step and others would hasten settlement of land claims.

Political Advancement

The Council expressed its gratification at the important role being played by the Congress of Micronesia as seen in its increased legislative output at its third session. It was also pleased to note the Congress's continued interest in the political progress of the territory as evidenced by its establishment of its own Status Commission. With respect to the Congress's financial responsibility, the Council noted the steps taken by the administration to consult with the Congress more fully on budgetary questions, but continued to hope that steps would be taken to extend the Congress's powers progressively to include appropriation of U.S. subsidies. The Council was concerned that there were still no Micronesians in the highest echelons of the

executive branch and reaffirmed its belief that Micronesians must be more fully involved in cabinet decisions. It urged the United States to continue its education and training program for public service and to fill vacant positions with professional appointees, including indigenous personnel to the extent possible. Finally, the Council welcomed the significant contribution being made by the Peace Corps in the economic and social programs of the territory.

Economic Advancement

The Council was pleased to note, as a followup to the 1966 Nathan report on the economic prospects in the territory, the creation of an Economic Development Division within the Department of Resources and Development and the preparation of master development plans for each district. The Council noted with satisfaction the continuing increase in the administration's appropriations and hoped that they might be authorized for a period of several years to provide maximum flexibility in planning. The Council renewed its recommendations for direct taxation in the territory and other steps to increase funds available for appropriation by the Congress of Micronesia. It reaffirmed its view of the importance of both agriculture and fishing to the territory's economy. The Council welcomed the improvement in air transportation and the related effort to build tourist hotels, but noted the continuing problems with sea communications. It urged continuing effort to improve shipping services and the road network, both vital to a growing economy.

Social and Educational Advancement

The Council commended the progress made in public health, noted the reorganization and upgrading of the Department of Public Health, and urged the administration to continue its efforts to elimi-

nate the acute shortage of medical personnel. It also expressed the hope that the administration would consider creating a low-cost housing loan fund to meet the needs for assistance in this area.

Recalling its earlier observations on the great needs in education, the Council noted the progress made during the year and was pleased to see that increased emphasis was being placed on vocational training, as it had recommended. Although it welcomed the suggestion of the Stanford Research Institute that a college preparatory school be established in the territory, the Council still believed this should only be the first step toward the creation of a junior college, as it had earlier recommended.

Timetable for Self-Government or Independence

The Council recalled the finding of the 1967 visiting mission that the time for Micronesian self-determination was not too far distant and urged the United States to take all possible steps to reduce the economic dependence of the territory on it. It further urged the administration to prepare the people for self-government or independence by more fully associating them in the direction of their own affairs and by continuing its efforts to increase their understanding of the various possibilities open to them in the process of self-determination. The Council welcomed the measures taken jointly by the Congress of Micronesia and the United States to attain these ends, namely the creation of a Micronesian Status Commission and the proposal by the President for a similar U.S. Commission.

COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION

When the Committee of 24's Subcommittee I considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands during six meetings between Sep-

tember 3 and October 3, the U.S. Representative observed that the territory had recently been the subject of lengthy discussion in the Trusteeship Council and that the policy of the United States had been explained at that time.

On October 3 the Subcommittee adopted a report which reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Colonialism Declaration. While noting the special circumstances of geographic location and economic conditions that exist in the territory, the Subcommittee reiterated its view that the question of size, isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration in the territory. Though recognizing the increasingly important role played by the Congress of Micronesia, the Subcommittee urged the United States to give the Congress full and clearly defined legislative powers and the means to exercise them. Concerned that there were no Micronesians at the highest executive levels, the Subcommittee urged the United States to take immediate steps to allow Micronesians to gain early experience in framing policy and exercising political responsibility at the Cabinet level.

The Subcommittee noted that 95% of the territory's central budget was provided by grants appropriated by the U.S. Congress, over which the Congress of Micronesia had no power of appropriation. As a result it was unable to exercise effective financial control over most government activities. The Subcommittee therefore urged the United States to enlarge the financial responsibility of the Congress by progressively extending its powers to include appropriation of U.S. subsidies.

The Subcommittee reiterated its view that to ensure the economic viability of the territory more ought to be done to lessen its economic dependence on the United States.

The Subcommittee, while noting the educational progress achieved, urged the United States to intensify the implementation of its declared educational objectives and to take immediate steps to create an institution for higher education. Finally, the Subcommittee concluded its report by inviting the United States to reconsider its position concerning visiting missions and to allow a subcommittee to visit the territory. Such a visit would help the Committee of 24 to understand the problems of the territory and at the same time aid the people and the administration in finding the speediest and most suitable ways to implement the Colonialism Declaration.

On October 31 the full Committee adopted the report of its Subcommittee. As he had when the Subcommittee adopted its report, the U.S. Representative expressed a general reservation on the conclusions and recommendations as a whole since the entire question had already been properly discussed in the Trusteeship Council, as prescribed by the Charter. He also pointed out that the Trusteeship Council had sent a visiting mission to the territory in 1967.

Trust Territory of New Guinea

The Trust Territory of New Guinea comprises the northeastern part of the island of New Guinea, north of the Papuan and east of the West Irian borders, and the arc of islands stretching from the Admiralties to the northern Solomons (Buka and Bougainville). Total land area covers some 92,160 square miles.

In June 1967 the population was estimated to exceed 1,645,000, of which over 20,000 were nonindigenous inhabitants, mostly Australians and Chinese.

The trust territory, which Australia administers in union with the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua, pre-

sents formidable problems of administration. More than 700 dialects are spoken in the territory which includes some of the world's most primitive people.

A visiting mission composed of representatives from New Zealand, France, Liberia, and the United States visited the territory from February 27 to April 2. The United States was represented by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Ward P. Allen. The Council considered both the visiting mission report and the report of the administering authority from June 5 to June 12.

In introducing the visiting mission's report, the French member of the mission said the population of the territory was awakening to the modern world. If the inhabitants had some doubts about the speed with which they could proceed toward independence, they were nevertheless very much aware of the need for rapid economic and social development and particularly in the field of education. Although much remained to be done, the success the administering authority had had in the past served to guarantee the success of its initiatives in the future.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL REPORT

Political Advancement

The Council was pleased to note in its report to the General Assembly that the House of Assembly elections, which took place during the year, had been well organized to ensure maximum participation. The Council noted with satisfaction the reforms which increased the indigenous responsibility in the executive, but believed there should be further development toward full ministerial responsibility. It further believed the entire subject of constitutional and political change should be kept under review and that the House should participate in this process. The Council also stated that some way must be found without delay to involve the

House in real financial responsibility.

Noting the growing system of local government councils, the Council felt that it was now time to give them more autonomy, and noted the Australian Representative's description of certain steps in this direction. The Council felt further steps should be taken to establish municipal governments and elected urban councils. The Council noted the 100% increase in indigenous members of the public service, but felt more needed to be done, including such steps as a common salary scale for local and expatriate officers. To promote more effective administration, there should be greater flexibility and decentralization between the Australian Government and the administration and also between the administration and the districts.

Economic Advancement

The Council welcomed the continued increase in the rate of economic development of New Guinea and noted with interest the Australian Representative's statement that a 5-year development plan was now in the final stages of preparation. It noted with approval the expanding role of indigenous people in industrial and agricultural production. While agreeing that overseas investment is necessary for the territory's development, it hoped the policy of requiring indigenous participation in such developmental efforts would continue. It welcomed both the increase in Australian grant funds to the budget and the increase in locally raised revenues, and recommended that the possibilities of tourism in the territory be carefully studied.

Social and Educational Advancement

The Council noted that the Select Committee of the House of Assembly had reported the desirability of a study by the full House of the application of the present legislation on discrimination, and it hoped every

effort would be made to remove the existing minor manifestations of discrimination. The Council noted with satisfaction that health services had been constantly improving. It also noted the visiting mission's commendation of the impressive advances in education in the last 2 or 3 years, but believed greater emphasis should be placed on teaching local and area history and culture in the schools. Finally, the Council believed the administration should consider using more volunteers from other countries that are willing to make them available.

Timetable for Self-Government or Independence

The Council noted with satisfaction the steps taken in political development during the period under review. It also noted that the further development of the economy improved the prospect for economic self-reliance and political self-determination. The Council noted that the visiting mission said it appeared that the people of the territory did not yet feel ready for self-government or independence, but that this attitude should not be used as an excuse to delay progress toward self-determination. The Council recognized the view of the administration that a true act of self-determination could not be made until the people themselves requested it. It believed that the situation called for a continual and intensified program to bring the population to full understanding of the meaning and implications of self-determination, with all its options. The Council, therefore, endorsed the recommendations of the visiting mission that:

(1) there should be a vigorous program of political education, through all available publicity media, stressing the meaning of the terms "self-government" and "independence";

(2) every effort should be made to associate the people more closely in the exercise of power in order to

facilitate the transfer of responsibility when self-government or independence is achieved; and

(3) some firm assurance should be given to the people that self-government or independence does not in itself involve cessation of financial and technical assistance from Australia.

COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION

Subcommittee II of the Committee of 24 considered Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea at two meetings but reported to the full Committee that due to the lack of time, it had been unable to complete its consideration. The Committee of 24 therefore decided on October 31, subject to any direction from the General Assembly, to continue consideration of these areas at its next session.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

After considering the reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24, the Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) on December 16 approved two resolutions, one introduced by Liberia, and the other by the Sudan on behalf of 27 cosponsors.

The Liberian draft reaffirmed previous Assembly resolutions on Papua and New Guinea and the right of the people of the territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration; noted the visiting mission report and its recommendations; called upon Australia to take steps to transfer effective executive and legislative powers to the elected representatives of the people; requested Australia to increase both the numbers and the responsibilities of indigenous personnel within the public service; and decided that the United Nations should render all help to the people of the territories in their

efforts freely to decide their own future.

The 27-power resolution, after reaffirming earlier resolutions and the rights set forth in the Colonialism Declaration, regretted that Australia had not fully implemented them and called on it to do so by fixing an early date for self-determination and independence in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people, and by holding free elections under U.N. supervision in order to transfer effective power to the representatives of the people. It called on Australia to report to the Trusteeship Council and to the Committee of 24 on the actions taken in this regard and asked both the Council and the Committee to report on this subject to the next General Assembly.

Both resolutions were adopted—the former by a vote of 41 (Australia, U.S.) to 37, with 17 abstentions, and the latter by 65 to 14 (Australia, U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The U.S. Representative, Brewster C. Denny, in explanation of vote, stated that the United States had opposed the latter resolution because it made several erroneous assumptions on self-deter-

mination and the conditions in the two territories. The report of the visiting mission made clear that such resolutions were not welcome in the territory and that local officials felt the United Nations were pressuring the administration to grant independence before the people were ready for it. Mr. Denny said the resolution completely ignored the efforts made by Australia in the territory, and thus gave an unbalanced assessment of developments there.

On December 18 both resolutions were considered by the General Assembly in plenary session. The President ruled that, under the provisions of the Charter and rules of procedure stipulating that resolutions concerning the operation of the Trusteeship System require a two-thirds majority, both resolutions would require a two-thirds majority for approval. The 27-power draft was so approved by a vote of 72 to 19 (Australia, U.S.), with 24 abstentions, but the Liberian draft, with a vote of 61 (Australia, U.S.) to 37, with 17 abstentions, failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority.

Committee of 24

The General Assembly in 1961 established a 17-member Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In 1962 the Committee was enlarged to 24 members.¹

¹ Members of the Committee in 1968 were Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile/Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R.,

In 1968 the full Committee of 24, chaired by Mahmoud Mestiri of Tunisia, held 79 meetings in addition to meetings of its various subcommittees. The United States

United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. On September 24 the Permanent Representative of Chile informed the President of the General Assembly that Chile was withdrawing from the Committee. On October 21 the President nominated Ecuador to fill the vacancy, and on October 25 the General Assembly approved this appointment.

served on Subcommittee II (Pacific Ocean Territories).¹

Visiting Missions

On April 1 the Committee adopted a report by its Working Group (steering committee) authorizing the chairman to request information from the administering powers on how they envisaged carrying out that portion of the 22d General Assembly resolution that called upon them to cooperate with the Committee of 24 by permitting visiting missions to enter their territories.

On April 18 the chairman addressed identical letters to the Permanent Representatives of Australia, France, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States and to the Portuguese Chargé requesting such information. On August 19 the chairman submitted a written report of the responses he had received. The U.S. view remained that visiting missions were not warranted at that time and that, should such a mission be proposed, the United States would in all likelihood be unable to accept. Australia, Portugal, and the United Kingdom also opposed such missions, while New Zealand believed its territories were too small to warrant a separate mission. France did not reply, and Spain responded affirmatively in the case of Equatorial Guinea and, with certain qualifications, Spanish Sahara. The Committee considered the chairman's report and on September 19 adopted, by a vote of 18 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution which, in its preambular paragraphs, recalled the request for the cooperation of the administering powers, regretted that the responses remained negative or qualified in character, and expressed the view that such

attitudes were impeding the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration and that previous missions had played a constructive role in achieving independence in other territories. The operative paragraphs reaffirmed the "vital importance" of visiting missions in gathering information, strongly urged the administering powers to reconsider and to permit the entry of such missions into their territories, and requested the chairman to consult with the administering powers and to report the results to the Committee.

The U.S. Representative, in explanation of vote, said the United States could not accept the premise that the absence of visiting missions impeded the progress of territories toward self-determination, and that this was certainly not the case in the territories administered by the United States. He said complete freedom of expression existed in U.S. territories and full information on all subjects was therefore available to all who desired it. Thus one could not say visiting missions were vital to the gathering of information. However, the United States had given and would continue to give full consideration to any request by the Committee regarding visiting missions and was ready to enter into consultations with the chairman on this subject.

Territories Considered in 1968

During 1968 the Committee of 24 considered:

American Samoa
Antigua
Bahamas
Bermuda
British Honduras
Cayman Islands
Cocos (Keeling)
Islands
Dominica

Equatorial Guinea
(Fernando Póo
and Río Muni)
Falkland Islands
Fiji
French Territory of
the Afars and the
Issas (formerly
French
Somaliland)

¹ Members of Subcommittee II: Afghanistan, Australia, Ethiopia, Honduras, India, Iraq, Poland, United States.

Gibraltar	St. Kitts-Nevis-
Gilbert and Ellice	Anguilla
Islands	St. Lucia
Grenada	St. Vincent
Guam	Seychelles
Ifni	Solomon Islands
Mauritius	Southern Rhodesia
Montserrat	Spanish Sahara
Namibia	Swaziland
New Hebrides	Tokelau Islands
Niue	Trust Territory of
Oman	New Guinea
Papua	Trust Territory of
Pitcairn	the Pacific
Portuguese	Islands
Territories	Turks and Caicos
St. Helena	Islands
	U.S. Virgin Islands

See separate sections of this report for Committee consideration of the following territories: Namibia (p. 194), Oman (p. 53), Portuguese territories (p. 202), Southern Rhodesia (p. 205), Trust Territory of New Guinea (also covering Papua) (p. 175), and Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (p. 172). The consideration of these territories, and those described below, were of particular interest to the United States.

SWAZILAND

Swaziland was considered by the Committee at six meetings between April 11 and May 22 and again on September 5. The U.K. Representative outlined developments that had taken place since the Committee last considered Swaziland, in particular the February Constitutional Conference held in London. He said full agreement had been reached on almost all matters except a land settlement issue, which dated back to before the United Kingdom had assumed responsibility for the territory, and a purely internal question of mineral rights. This latter problem was left to the settlement of the Swaziland Government, while the former would be discussed further between the two governments either before or after independence. The Conference had concluded with the formal acceptance by the British

Government of the September 6, 1968, independence date proposed by the Swaziland Parliament.

On May 17 Sierra Leone introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 13 members, which:

(1) noted the administering power's compliance with the date of independence requested by the Swaziland Parliament;

(2) regretted that no agreement had been reached concerning the Swazi people's claim for compensation to be paid for alienated land;

(3) reiterated the request that the United Kingdom take immediate steps either to ensure the return of the land or pay compensation; and

(4) reiterated its request that the administering power take all steps both to bring about the economic independence of Swaziland vis-à-vis South Africa and to protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country.

The British Representative expressed regret that there had been minimal consultation in preparing the draft resolution. He had hoped that there could have been unanimity within the Committee during its last discussion of the territory, but unfortunately this was not possible. He explained that the United Kingdom had inherited the land problem and had made an attempt 60 years before to settle it in an equitable way and thus could not now accept claims for alienation. The resolution also gave an inaccurate picture of Swaziland's economic position, which was quite favorable compared to some other former territories in the area. Finally the United Kingdom had defended the integrity and sovereignty of the territory for many years, but after independence this would become a matter for the Government of Swaziland. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 to 0, with 3 abstentions (U.S.).

The U.S. Representative expressed his government's pleasure at Swaziland's forthcoming independence, but stated that his delegation had

abstained because the resolution continued to advocate positions that ignored Swaziland's geographic location and other factors, and that could have little effect at this late date.

On September 5 the Committee congratulated Swaziland on its independence. (See also p. 63.)

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

In view of the resolution of the previous General Assembly which called upon Spain to fix a date for the independence of Equatorial Guinea as soon as possible, and in no case later than July 1968, the Committee of 24 considered the item early on its agenda. Extensive debate took place at 11 meetings between March 1 and April 1, and again at 13 meetings between April 30 and July 19.

At the first meeting, the Spanish Representative, who was invited to participate, informed the Committee that Spain had every intention of granting independence to Equatorial Guinea as soon as possible and hoped to meet the July deadline. He said, however, that it was still necessary to complete the work of the Constitutional Conference which first met in November 1967. The Spanish Government was ready to resume the Conference and once the details of the constitution were agreed upon, they would be submitted to the people of Equatorial Guinea for approval. Shortly thereafter elections would be held and independence granted.

There was considerable debate within the Committee, stimulated in part by petitions and statements of petitioners before the Committee, critical of Spanish administration and its intentions. Some Committee members questioned Spain's intention of meeting the deadline for independence and expressed doubts about the need for a referendum to approve the constitution.

On March 28 Tanzania and Sierra

Leone introduced a draft resolution on behalf of 13 cosponsors which, *inter alia*:

(1) declared that Spain had not yet fully complied with the provisions of the 22d General Assembly resolution;

(2) reaffirmed that Equatorial Guinea should accede to independence as one political entity;

(3) called upon Spain to proclaim a date of independence no later than July 15;

(4) declared that the question of independence should not be subject to any form of electoral consultation;

(5) urged Spain to reconvene the Constitutional Conference, hold general elections, and transfer all powers of government to those elected;

(6) urged Spain to complete the work of the Constitutional Conference in time to meet the July 15 deadline; and

(7) requested the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure a U.N. presence in the territory to supervise the preparations for, and the holding of, the elections called for and to participate in all other processes leading to independence.

On March 29 the Spanish Representative announced that the Constitutional Convention would resume on April 17, and at his request the draft resolution on Equatorial Guinea was revised in a minor way, slightly softening its tone. On April 1 the draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.).

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, said that his delegation regretted having to abstain since the United States strongly supported the cause of self-determination for the people of Equatorial Guinea and had voted for the resolution on the subject at the previous General Assembly. He said, however, that the United States could not, in good conscience, be satisfied that the cause of self-determination was advanced by this resolution, since it appeared to

dictate to the people as well as to the administering authority. The U.S. Government objected particularly to that provision specifically excluding the question of independence from electoral consultation. A referendum was not a hard-and-fast requirement for self-determination, but it was certainly a very effective and reliable way to determine the desires of the people. It was a very strange position for the Committee of 24 to take, to state specifically that a matter as important as the question of accession to independence could not be put before the people.

Pursuant to this resolution, the Secretary-General continued his discussions, initiated at the request of the 22d General Assembly, with the Spanish Representative. On June 25 the Committee was informed that these consultations were proceeding, and on June 27 the Spanish Representative, in a letter to the Secretary-General, regretted that, despite the desires of his government, the Constitutional Conference had been delayed and thus had not been able to conclude its work until June 22, thus making it impossible to meet the July deadline for independence. However, Spain would inform the Secretary-General of the date of the constitutional referendum which, in turn, would be followed shortly by elections and independence, all of which were to be completed in 1968.

The Committee continued its consideration of the item in July and on the 10th of the month the Spanish Representative informed the Committee that the constitutional referendum would take place on August 11, general elections would be held in September, and October 12 had been decided upon as the date of independence.

On July 19 the Committee adopted a consensus which regretted that Spain had not met the July deadline, but noted its intention to complete the process of granting independence no later than October. The Committee further expressed the hope

that a U.N. visiting mission to Equatorial Guinea would begin work without delay, and requested Spain to cooperate fully with the mission.

Visiting Mission

On August 6 the Secretary-General announced the formation of a U.N. Mission for the Supervision of the Referendum and the Elections in Equatorial Guinea, consisting of representatives of Chile, Iran, Syria, Tanzania, and Niger, with the last named as chairman. The mission arrived in Equatorial Guinea on August 10, the day before the constitutional referendum, and thus had only limited time to prepare for its observations of the proceedings. The mission visited a number of polling places in both Fernando Póo and Río Muni, however, and on August 15 transmitted a report to the representative of the Spanish Government in the territory in which it stated that the discrepancies observed were not of such magnitude as to cast doubt on the result of the vote in favor of the constitution. However, the report recommended updating the electoral roles and changing the voting procedures to ensure greater secrecy in voting.

The Spanish Government invited the visiting mission to Madrid for further consultation before the elections, which were announced for September 22. The mission reported that it found the Spanish Government cooperative, and through discussions steps were agreed upon to meet both of the mission's criticisms of the first vote. The mission requested the dispatch of additional observers by the Secretary-General, and these were sent to ensure that all election districts were covered. Thus the mission was able to follow the election campaign closely, and it generally approved of the manner in which the campaign was conducted.

On election day, the mission visited most polling places and found procedures to be generally orderly and

proper, although the electoral rolls were still not entirely up to date. Since no candidate received a majority, a runoff election was scheduled for September 29. Spanish authorities cooperated with the mission in attempting to up-date further the electoral rolls in the limited time available. The second election was again conducted in a calm atmosphere, with procedures properly observed, and with a significant improvement in the electoral rolls. Macías Nguema was elected President.

On October 9 the Secretary-General informed the Committee of 24 that the mission had returned and suggested that the Committee accept an oral report from the mission chairman since Equatorial Guinea was due to become independent only 3 days later. The Committee agreed and the mission chairman reported the developments as outlined above, concluding that the elections had been conducted in a manner ensuring that all democratic freedoms were fully respected and enabling the people of Equatorial Guinea freely to choose their future leaders. He commended the Government of Spain for its cooperation.

General Assembly Consideration

On October 11 the Fourth Committee briefly considered the question of Equatorial Guinea, with members praising the visiting mission and congratulating the people of Equatorial Guinea on their accession to independence. At the conclusion of its meeting the Fourth Committee adopted a consensus embodying these points. (See also p. 64.)

GIBRALTAR

On October 3 the chairman informed the Committee of 24 that he had discussed the Gibraltar question with the administering power and others concerned. In view of the limited time available, he recommended that the Secretary-General's

working paper on Gibraltar, one of those submitted on each of the territories, be transmitted to the General Assembly to facilitate consideration of this subject by its Fourth Committee at the current Assembly session, and that the Committee postpone its consideration of Gibraltar until its next session. It was so decided.

General Assembly Action

The Fourth Committee considered the question at four meetings between December 4 and 16. At the first meeting Honduras and Syria introduced a resolution, ultimately cosponsored by 24 states, which:

(1) recalled the Colonialism Declaration and the 1967 General Assembly resolution on Gibraltar;

(2) regretted that the administering power had failed to comply with the latter resolution calling upon the United Kingdom and Spain to negotiate an end to the colonial situation in the territory;

(3) declared that the continuation of this colonial situation was incompatible with the U.N. Charter and the Colonialism Declaration;

(4) requested the administering power to terminate the colonial situation no later than October 1, 1969; and

(5) called upon the United Kingdom to begin without delay the negotiations called for by the 22d General Assembly resolution.

The U.K. Representative denied that his government was responsible for the failure of the negotiations. He said that Spain had not been willing to negotiate without conditions, insisting instead that the only solution was the transfer of Gibraltar to Spain. He denied that his government wished to perpetuate the colonial situation in the territory, but rather wished to accede to the wishes of the people. He felt the imposition of a deadline was unrealistic and questioned whether such a demand was really in the interests of the United Nations. Finally, he objected

to the call for negotiations on the basis of the 1967 resolution which called for a solution involving "territorial integrity" rather than self-determination. The U.K. Representative particularly regretted that only the 24-power draft had been introduced when other more moderate drafts had been informally discussed.

On December 16 the Fourth Committee adopted the 24-power resolution on Gibraltar by a vote of 66 (Spain) to 18 (U.K.), with 31 abstentions (U.S.). The U.S. Representative, in explanation of vote, said that the United States wished to have the record show that its abstention on the question involving Gibraltar had been without prejudice to its general position opposing the setting of target dates for dependent territories.

On December 18 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted the Fourth Committee draft resolution by a vote of 67 to 18, with 34 abstentions (U.S.).

IFNI AND SPANISH SAHARA

In considering Ifni and Spanish Sahara, the Committee of 24 noted the Secretary-General's request to the Spanish Representative, pursuant to a 22d General Assembly resolution, to consult on the dispatch of a visiting mission to Spanish Sahara. The Committee also noted the Spanish Representative's reply that it was for the people of the territories alone to decide their future; that the Spanish Government was cooperating in this effort; and that Spain was ready to discuss a visiting mission that could form its own judgment on the matter. The Committee agreed to submit to the General Assembly the Secretary-General's working paper on the two territories and the correspondence on the visiting mission.

General Assembly Action

During the Fourth Committee's consideration of Ifni and the Spanish

Sahara on December 16, Ghana, or behalf of 17 cosponsors, introduced a two-part draft resolution similar to that introduced the previous year. It reaffirmed the right of the people in both territories to self-determination and approved the report of the Committee of 24 in both cases. In the portion dealing with Ifni, the resolution called on Spain to take immediate steps to accelerate its decolonization and to consult with Morocco, an interested party, on procedures for the transfer of powers. In the portion devoted to Spanish Sahara, the resolution called on Spain to determine as soon as possible, in conformity with the wishes of the people and in consultation with Mauritania and Morocco as interested parties, the procedures for holding a referendum to allow the people their right of self-determination. The resolution again requested the Secretary-General to consult with the Spanish Representative to arrange for a visiting mission. Finally, the Committee of 24 was asked to continue its consideration of both territories and report to the next General Assembly.

The Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution 105 (Spain, U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions. On December 18, in plenary session, the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 114 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions.

SMALL TERRITORIES

A number of small territories considered separately or in groups by the Committee of 24 were later dealt with together in an omnibus resolution by the General Assembly.

West Indies Associated States

The Committee of 24 continued its discussion, as called for by the previous General Assembly, of the territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, otherwise

known (except for St. Vincent) as the West Indies Associated States. The Committee also referred the item to its Subcommittee III (Caribbean and Atlantic Territories).¹

The Subcommittee considered the item between June 19 and 28. The U.K. Representative was invited to participate, but confined his comments to St. Vincent, stating his government's view that the fact that the other territories were no longer non-self-governing was well known. Regarding St. Vincent, he said that the island's future as an associated state was agreed upon by all concerned, but certain constitutional problems remained to be settled. His government hoped these problems would soon be solved, at which time St. Vincent would become an associated state. Like the former British territories that had already been granted this status, St. Vincent would always have the right to declare total independence when and if it chose to do so.

On June 28 the Subcommittee adopted a report to the full Committee on the territories recommending that the Committee:

(1) note with regret the attitude of the administering power;

(2) reaffirm the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territories;

(3) reaffirm the right of the people to self-determination while emphasizing the need of the administering power to inform them of their options;

(4) reiterate its request that the United Kingdom transfer all powers to the peoples of the territories without conditions or reservations;

(5) reiterate its belief that a U.N. presence during the exercise of self-determination is essential; and finally

(6) regret that the administering power had not yet agreed to receive a visiting mission.

Italy and Finland made general

¹ Members of Subcommittee III: Bulgaria, Finland, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Venezuela.

reservations concerning the conclusions and recommendations.

The full Committee considered the Subcommittee's recommendations on July 3. The U.K. Representative restated his government's view that with the exception of St. Vincent, the territories had attained full self-government and no longer were subject to the Committee's consideration. The U.S. Representative entered a general reservation regarding the Subcommittee's report and repeated the U.S. view that the territories were not non-self-governing and thus were beyond the purview of the Committee. He said self-determination involved a free choice among various alternatives. Independence was one such alternative, but not the only one. The people of the territories had made their choice freely and their future was now in their hands. After the intervention of several other members expressing reservations, the Committee adopted the Subcommittee's recommendations without change.

Other British Caribbean Territories

At the beginning of the Committee consideration of Bermuda, the Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the Cayman Islands on April 30, the Tanzanian Representative called attention to the recent disturbances in Bermuda and expressed his concern at "the fact" that British troops had been sent to take "repressive action" against the people. The U.K. Representative rejected the allegation that this was the purpose of the troops. Later, during the debate in Subcommittee III, the U.K. Representative reported that the situation had never been as alarming and explosive as had been suggested; the disturbances had lasted only 3 days; the political processes in preparation for the May 22 elections had only been temporarily inconvenienced; and the British troops, amounting to one company, would be withdrawn as soon as the

Governor so requested. The U.K. Representative believed the long-term effects of the upcoming elections were much more significant than the brief disturbances.

The Subcommittee concluded its discussion of Bermuda by submitting a report to the full Committee, which the latter adopted on May 17. In this report the Committee, *inter alia*, requested that the British troops be speedily withdrawn, requested that the elections be deferred until the situation had returned to normal, and reiterated its belief that a U.N. presence during the election was needed. The U.K. Representative rejected the report's implications that the elections were anything but free and denied that they should be delayed or that a visiting mission should be accepted.

Prior to the adoption of the report, the U.S. Representative said the adverse effect of the measures taken by the United Kingdom had been exaggerated, that the elections should not be delayed, that his delegation would vote against the Committee's conclusions and recommendations, and if the report was adopted, would enter a firm reservation.

The Subcommittee resumed its regular discussion of all the territories, including Bermuda, on May 21 and held three other meetings between then and June 19. On the latter date it adopted a report for approval by the full Committee which, *inter alia*, regretted the U.K. failure to postpone the Bermuda elections and repeated earlier criticisms; the full Committee adopted the report on June 25. The U.K. Representative said the report ignored the fact that before the elections normal conditions had been restored and that freedom of expression had been complete and unrestricted. He also said the report ignored the fact that the pace toward self-determination in all the territories conformed to the wishes of the people. The United States, Australia, Italy, and Finland also entered reservations.

Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn, and the Solomon Islands

At four meetings between May 24 and July 8 Subcommittee II considered (1) the report of the administering power, the United Kingdom, which pointed out that the Solomons and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands had new constitutions and had held elections; (2) the statements of petitioners; and (3) the working paper prepared by the Secretariat. On July 8 it adopted suggested conclusions and recommendations for the full Committee's consideration which, *inter alia*, stated that size, isolation, and limited resources should not delay implementation of the Colonialism Declaration in the territories and that recent constitutional changes had been insufficient, regretted that the indigenous people had no voice in the management of the phosphate operations on Ocean Island (in the Gilbert and Ellice group), requested the Secretary-General to conduct a detailed investigation of all aspects of the phosphate operation, and reiterated its belief in the usefulness of a visiting mission. The Australian and U.S. Representatives entered reservations, the latter pointing out the Subcommittee had included some facts while ignoring others equally relevant, and thus the text was not a statement of the whole truth. The full Committee adopted the report on July 11, with Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States making reservations.

Guam and American Samoa

Subcommittee II considered these U.S. territories at six meetings between September 3 and October 3. In addition to having the Secretariat's working paper before it, the Subcommittee heard a report by the U.S. Representative on recent developments in the territories, including the passage of the Elective Governor Act for Guam. On October 3 the Subcommittee adopted a report con-

taining conclusions and recommendations for approval by the full Committee.

This report:

(1) reaffirmed the right of the people to self-determination and independence;

(2) reiterated that the question of size, isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay this process;

(3) while welcoming the Elective Governor Act, regretted that it had not reflected the wishes of the people for an election in 1968 rather than 1970;

(4) noted with concern that recent constitutional changes were insufficient to enable the people to determine their future except in complete association with the United States, and therefore recommended they be given greater responsibilities;

(5) expressed the view that the establishment of military bases in Guam was incompatible with the U.N. Charter and the Colonialism Declaration;

(6) noted that the economy of the territories remained military-oriented, that proposed economic enterprises tended to perpetuate this situation and that the indigenous people had only a limited role in the control and management of the economy of the territories;

(7) called for increased educational and training facilities so that the people could assume more responsible positions; and

(8) invited the United States to reconsider its view on visiting missions.

The U.S. Representative stated that the report did not adequately take into account developments in the territories since the Committee's last report. He pointed out, *inter alia*, that the Guamanians had accepted the 1970 election date since an election in 1968 would not provide enough time to organize political campaigns and would therefore unduly favor the incumbent Governor. He observed that political advancements should be welcomed, not regretted; that criticism of military

bases had no place in the draft, noting that the U.N. Charter had no provision opposing such facilities; that criticism of the economy did not agree with the facts; and that visiting missions were not necessary. The U.S. Representative proposed deletion of the reference to military bases, but his proposal was not accepted.

The full Committee adopted the report on November 7, after the United States again made many of the same objections, and an effort to delete the reference to military bases was again defeated.

Seychelles and St. Helena

Subcommittee I (African and Indian Ocean Territories)¹ discussed these British territories at five meetings between April 23 and July 1, adopting on the latter date a report containing conclusions and recommendations for consideration by the full Committee. *Inter alia*, the report stated that the constitutional arrangements made to date to promote decolonization were inadequate; deplored all actions by the United Kingdom to separate certain islands from the Seychelles, particularly as the separation was intended to serve military purposes; reiterated that plans by the United Kingdom and the United States to establish military bases on the so-called "British Indian Ocean Territory" would "threaten to heighten tension in Africa and Asia"; regretted foreign exploitation of the islands' resources and foreign domination of the economy; called for free elections; declared the separation of some islands incompatible with the Charter; and called on the administering power to accept a visiting mission.

The U.K. Representative regretted that the Subcommittee had paid insufficient attention to the information he had provided, particularly on the political advances made in the past year. At the full Committee discus-

¹ Members of Subcommittee I: Chile, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia.

sion on July 3 the U.K. Representative reiterated this point, noting in particular that free elections had recently been held. Regarding the separation of certain atolls, he said that, as his government had many times made clear, these atolls had no permanent inhabitants and were not part of the Seychelles; the governments of the Seychelles and Mauritius had both agreed to this separation; and his government had no plans to establish military bases on these atolls. Even the limited British plans to establish a staging facility had now been indefinitely suspended. He stated that the possible use of these atolls in the indefinite future for limited defense purposes could not in any way impede the process of decolonization. Nor could these hypothetical uses or the existing tracking station pose any kind of threat to the countries of Africa or Asia.

The U.S. Representative entered a general reservation on the report, pointing out its failure to recognize the progress made in the territories. He had strong reservations in particular about the alleged significance—in terms of being contrary to the Colonialism Declaration and the Charter and posing a threat to Africa and Asia—of possible plans by the United Kingdom or the United States to establish bases on certain atolls. Despite these reservations the full Committee adopted the report on July 3.

U.S. Virgin Islands

The U.S. Virgin Islands were considered by Subcommittee III at eight meetings between April 22 and June 17. The U.S. Representative reported on current developments, including the proposed Elective Governor Act which was then being considered by the U.S. Congress. On June 5 the Subcommittee adopted a report containing conclusions and recommendations for consideration by the full Committee. It included references to previous resolutions;

recognized that the small size and population of the islands presented peculiar problems which demanded special attention; noted with regret the lack of constitutional progress; regretted that the United States had failed to implement further the Colonialism Declaration; invited the United States to encourage open discussion by the people of their possible future status and to ensure that they appreciated the alternatives; and urged acceptance of a visiting mission and a U.N. presence at any act of self-determination.

On June 24 the U.S. Representative expressed general reservations on the report saying that it did not accurately reflect the actual situation in the islands.

The report was adopted by the full Committee on June 25.

General Assembly Action

On December 16 Sierra Leone, on behalf of 14 cosponsors, introduced a draft resolution dealing with 24 small territories. The Fourth Committee adopted the resolution the same day.

In the resolution's preambular paragraphs the General Assembly, *inter alia*, recalled the Colonialism Declaration; expressed deep concern at the policy of some administering powers in establishing military bases in territories in contravention of General Assembly resolutions; deplored the refusal to receive visiting missions; and stated its awareness of special geographical and economic circumstances which exist in these territories.

In the operative paragraphs the Assembly, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the right of self-determination; called upon the administering powers to implement without delay relevant General Assembly resolutions; reiterated that any attempt aimed at partial or total disruption of national unity and territorial integrity of territories and the establishment of military bases in territories is incompatible with the Charter and the

Colonialism Declaration, decided the United Nations should render all help to the people of these territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status, and therefore asked the Committee of 24 to pay special attention to these territories.

The United States called for a separate vote on the operative paragraph dealing with military bases. It was adopted 48 to 13 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 74 to 1 with 16 abstentions (U.S.).

The General Assembly considered the draft resolution in plenary session December 18 and again a separate vote was called for on the operative paragraph dealing with military bases. Again it was approved, this time by a vote of 68 to 16 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 89 to 2, with 22 abstentions (U.S.).

Activities of Foreign Economic and Other Interests

Pursuant to a request by the 22d General Assembly, the Committee of 24 continued its examination of the agenda item entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the . . . [Colonialism Declaration] in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in southern Africa." It referred the item to its Subcommittee I, which discussed it at four meetings between September 16 and October 4 and adopted a report for approval by the full Committee which contained, *inter alia*, these conclusions and recommendations:

(1) The countries whose monopolies were impeding progress toward self-determination in certain colonial territories had done nothing to implement the General Assembly's recommendations and had made no effort to restrain these interests—in fact, exploitation had increased.

(2) Foreign economic and other interests in colonial territories were a major obstacle to political independence and social and economic justice.

(3) In the large African territories of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique such interests served to support racist regimes.

(4) Information on the Caribbean and Pacific territories demonstrated similar exploitation.

(5) The Committee deeply regretted that colonial powers had not implemented, even in a preliminary way, the relevant resolution of the previous General Assembly.

The Subcommittee recommended that the General Assembly continue to examine the question in order to determine more effective ways and means to restrain these activities.

During the discussion the U.S. Representative said the conclusions in the report were far reaching and often fallacious. He pointed in particular to three major erroneous assumptions: first, that foreign private investment *per se* was detrimental to countries receiving such investment or to dependent territories, when clearly the facts showed the greater the investment the greater the rate of economic growth; second, that foreign investment thrived best in dependent territories when the record showed private investment was largely attracted to independent and prosperous countries; and third, that holding dependent territories was desirable for the prosperity of the metropolitan power, when clearly the former colonial powers were now more prosperous having divested themselves of their colonies. Thus while the United States was opposed to foreign economic investment that

ran counter to the interest of the indigenous people, it could not accept the report as written.

On November 7 the full Committee adopted the Subcommittee report, with only minor changes, by a vote of 16 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Finland, Italy).

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Fourth Committee considered this question at 12 meetings between November 18 and December 4. At the conclusion of its consideration Algeria and Sierra Leone on December 9 introduced a resolution ultimately sponsored by 26 states. In its preambular paragraphs the resolution, *inter alia*, expressed the conviction that any economic or other activities that impeded the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration or obstructed efforts against apartheid and racism were incompatible with the Charter; and recalled that the administering powers have an obligation to ensure the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of their territories and to protect them from abuse.

In its operative paragraphs the resolution, *inter alia*, approved the Committee of 24 report; declared that administering powers, by subordinating colonial peoples to foreign economic and financial interests, were violating their obligations under the Charter; condemned the exploitation of territories and peoples by those foreign economic, financial, and other interests which are designed to perpetuate colonial rule; requested the administering powers to take immediate steps to put an end to all practices that exploit territories or peoples; requested all states to take practical measures to ensure that activities of their nationals do not run counter to the rights and interests of colonial peoples; and requested the Committee of 24 to continue its study of

the question, with the assistance of the Secretary-General.

The resolution was approved December 13 by a vote of 89 to 2, with 17 abstentions (U.S.). In explanation of vote the U.S. Representative, Brewster C. Denny, stated:

The United States cannot support any resolution that endorses a report which deals so carelessly with the facts and which is based on patently erroneous assumptions.

He then repeated the U.S. objections to the Committee of 24 report and to some of the paragraphs of the resolution.

The General Assembly considered the resolution in plenary session December 18 and approved it by a vote of 87 to 2, with 19 abstentions (U.S.).

Military Activities in Non-Self-Governing Territories

The Committee of 24 referred the agenda item on military activities in non-self-governing territories to Subcommittee I, where it was considered at four meetings between June 25 and September 3. On the latter date the Subcommittee approved a report containing these conclusions, among others:

(1) Military activities in non-self-governing territories constituted one of the most serious impediments to implementing the Colonialism Declaration and in several cases posed "a grave and ever-increasing threat to international peace and security."

(2) In the case of territories rich in resources, military forces traditionally have gone hand-in-hand with economic exploitation and have been used to suppress emergent national liberation movements.

(3) In smaller territories foreign bases are a major source of world tension, and colonial powers have

come to attach increasing strategic importance to these territories.

(4) Guam is such a case, with a large military population and a military-oriented economy.

(5) The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is also being used for military purposes and this use will increase.

(6) The United States has bases in Bermuda and the U.S. Virgin Islands occupying large amounts of land.

(7) The United States plans to build bases in the British Indian Ocean Territory which includes islands belonging to the Seychelles.

(8) Strategic military considerations are an important factor in prolonging colonial rule and military installations also interfere with economic development.

(9) All such activities are contrary to the spirit of the Charter.

In light of these conclusions the Subcommittee, *inter alia*:

(1) condemned the use of force in the larger territories to suppress the legitimate aspiration of the colonial people to self-determination and independence;

(2) expressed its grave concern because strategic bases are impeding the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration by making the political future of the territories dependent on the long-term strategic interests of the administering power;

(3) deplored the large-scale alienation of land for military purposes;

(4) condemned the use of bases, especially in Guam and the trust territories, against third parties, as contrary to the spirit of the Charter and as a threat to world peace and security; and

(5) requested all administering powers to dismantle their bases and cease the alienation of land and utilization of other resources for military purposes.

The report was considered by the full Committee at three meetings between September 26 and October 3.

On September 30 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger,

pointed out that there was considerable controversy over the relevancy of this subject to the terms of reference of the Committee of 24 and that formulation of conclusions at this time was therefore unwise. In addition, he said, the Subcommittee's report contained biased, warped, and illogical conclusions. As for the charges leveled against the United States, it was not true that military activities in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands were contrary to the Charter or to the Trusteeship Agreement. In discussing Guam, the Subcommittee had either ignored the facts or twisted them. In short, there was no valid proof that the military activities of the United States in its territories were either an obstacle to self-determination or contrary to the spirit of the U.N. Charter.

On October 3 the Committee adopted the report by a vote of 16 to 4 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions.

The General Assembly considered this subject only in the context of the Committee of 24's report and limited its action on the subject to a paragraph in the general colonialism resolution (see below, p. 191).

Activities of Specialized Agencies

Acting under the provisions of a 22d General Assembly resolution calling upon U.N. specialized agencies and international institutions to assist in implementing the Colonialism Declaration and requesting ECOSOC, in consultation with the Committee of 24, to assume responsibility for coordinating this effort, the Committee of 24 considered the question at three meetings between July 3 and October 18.

At the first meeting the chairman reported on his consultations with the President of ECOSOC. He said

that they had agreed that the heads of the specialized agencies should be invited to discuss the problem at the forthcoming ECOSOC meeting; that the chairman and the President would consult during the ECOSOC meeting; and that the chairman would then report back to the Committee. On October 18 the chairman reported that he had been unable to attend the ECOSOC meeting, and that ECOSOC had decided to postpone action on the item until its next session to gather further information. The ECOSOC report, as well as that of the Secretary-General reporting on his consultations with the various agencies, showed that the implementation of the General Assembly resolution would pose constitutional and practical problems to a number of agencies.

The chairman then proposed that the Committee accept as its general position a statement which, *inter alia*, reiterated the belief that specialized agencies should cooperate fully in implementing the Colonialism Declaration; recommended that these agencies take urgent steps to assist people struggling for liberation from colonial rule; recommended that the agencies withhold all aid from South Africa and Portugal until they renounced their present policies; recognized that implementation might require careful study and continuing attention, and therefore suggested that the General Assembly call upon all specialized agencies to report through the Secretary-General to the Committee on concrete suggestions for implementing the relevant resolution; and decided to continue its consideration of the item, subject to General Assembly instruction, at its next session.

The U.S. Representative reminded the chairman that his delegation had abstained on the General Assembly resolution in question and that it had serious reservations about some of the resolution's provisions which were now reflected in the chairman's

statement. Thus his delegation could not endorse the statement and felt it should be recorded not as a general position of the Committee, but as the position of the majority.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Fourth Committee considered the item, along with others, at its meetings between November 18 and December 4. On December 9 the Congo (Kinshasa) and Tunisia introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 27 countries, which, *inter alia*, recalled the resolution of the 22d General Assembly on the subject; considered that the liberation movements in several colonial areas urgently required the assistance of the specialized agencies; noted with regret that some specialized agencies, particularly the IBRD and IMF, had not yet implemented the General Assembly resolution; reiterated an appeal for the cooperation of the specialized agencies; recommended that they work out concrete programs of assistance, in particular to the oppressed people of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and the Portuguese territories; appealed to all agencies, particularly the IBRD and the IMF, to take all necessary steps to withhold from Portugal and South Africa financial, economic, technical, and other assistance until they renounced their racial and colonial policies; and invited the Secretary-General to work with ECOSOC and the Committee of 24 in coordinating activities of the specialized agencies.

On December 10 the Soviet Representative proposed an additional operative paragraph recommending that the IBRD withdraw the loans and credits it had granted to Portugal and South Africa which they were using to suppress the liberation movements in their dependent territories and in South Africa. On December 13 the Soviet amendment was adopted by a vote of 33 to 31 (U.S.),

with 35 abstentions. The entire resolution was then adopted 79 to 5 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions. The U.S. Representative said that his vote had been dictated primarily by the Soviet amendment, but also because other paragraphs were inconsistent with agreements between the United Nations and some of the specialized agencies, and with the statutes of the agencies themselves. Thus the commendable elements of the draft resolution had been outweighed by the unacceptable portions.

The General Assembly considered the draft in plenary session December 18. Again the Soviet amendment was put to a separate vote and again it passed, this time by a vote of 36 to 31 (U.S.), with 43 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted 82 to 7 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions.

General Colonialism Resolution

At the 23d General Assembly, as in previous years, the chapter of the Committee of 24 report reviewing the Committee's work and containing recommendations for its studies in 1969 was debated in plenary session.

This chapter, which was adopted at the closing meeting of the Committee on December 5, stated, *inter alia*, that the Committee proposed to continue examining the situation in each territory and to examine the extent of compliance with the Colonialism Declaration, not only by administering powers, but by all member states. It would continue to make suggestions to assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures regarding threats to international peace and security arising in colonial territories. It would, wherever it deemed proper,

continue to recommend deadlines for accession to independence and would pay particular attention to small territories. The Committee would continue to investigate the effects of foreign economic and other interests and military bases in impeding the implementation of the Declaration. It would continue to review its list of territories and together with ECO-SOC would continue to study the role of specialized agencies in implementing the Declaration. It would continue to stress the vital importance of visiting missions and seek their acceptance, and would be willing to undertake or participate in preparatory arrangements for the 10th anniversary of the Colonialism Declaration in 1970. Finally, the Committee might consider holding some meetings away from headquarters in 1969 and requested funds for this purpose.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The General Assembly began its consideration of the Committee's report December 16. On December 19 the Somali Representative introduced, on behalf of 14 cosponsors, a draft resolution not unlike the one submitted the previous year. In its preambular paragraphs this draft, *inter alia*, recalled the Colonialism Declaration and earlier resolutions on the subject; noted that many territories were still under colonial domination; deplored the failure of colonial powers, particularly Portugal and South Africa, to comply with the Declaration and the relevant resolutions; deplored the attitude of certain states that continue to cooperate with Portugal and South Africa; and stated the conviction that further delay in implementing the Declaration remained a source of international conflict and differences.

In its operative paragraphs the draft, *inter alia*, noted with satisfaction the work of the Committee of 24 and approved its report and its

recommendations for future work in 1969; reiterated its declaration that the continuation of colonial rule threatened international peace and security; recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to exercise their right of self-determination; urged all states to provide moral, political, and material support to these peoples in their struggle to achieve independence; requested colonial powers to dismantle their military bases; again condemned the imposition of nonrepresentative regimes and the strengthening of foreign economic interests; requested the Committee of 24 to advise the Security Council on appropriate measures with regard to threats to international peace and security in colonial territories; invited the Committee of 24 to pay particular attention to small territories; and decided to establish a Preparatory Committee for the 10th anniversary of the Declaration.

The U.S.S.R. introduced a new operative paragraph, cosponsored by nine Eastern European countries and Yemen, declaring that the practice of using mercenaries against movements of national liberation and independence was a criminal act and that the mercenaries themselves were outlaws, and calling on all governments to enact legislation to this effect.

In the voting on December 20 the Soviet amendment was accepted by a vote of 53 to 8 (U.S.), with 43 abstentions, while the resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 87 to 7 (U.S.) with 17 abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Mr. Denny, in explanation of vote, said the resolution was meant to reaffirm the high purposes of the United Nations with respect to decolonization and its continuing responsibility under the Charter to bring that process to an appropriate conclusion. Since this transition from colonial status to self-government was one of the most important activities of the United Nations, a resolution on this subject should be drawn with great care. The United States could not support the resolution because it ill-served the cause of decolonization and distorted the principles and historical factors upon which such decolonization must rest. He cited among other examples the references to military bases and foreign economic interests, on both of which the United States had already made its position clear. He urged all who wished to accelerate decolonization to consult more fully in preparing resolutions so that they would be in conformity with the Charter and would present a more realistic, and thus potentially effective, view of the actual situation.

Namibia (South-West Africa)¹

The question of Namibia was considered during 1968 by the Committee of 24, the U.N. Council for Namibia, the resumed session of the

22d General Assembly, the 23d Assembly, and elsewhere in the U.N. system, including the Commission on Human Rights (see Part II, pp. 125).

¹ In a resolution adopted June 12 (see p. 198) the General Assembly proclaimed that South-West Africa should be known as Namibia. For the sake of convenience the

new name will be used throughout this report except where the old name appears in quotations.

In addition, the question was placed before the Security Council for the first time in connection with the trial of 37 Namibians for alleged terrorist activities. The trial began in September 1967, and judgment was delivered on January 26, 1968. Of the 37 defendants, 15 were sentenced to life imprisonment, 14 to sentences of 20 years, 2 to sentences of 5 years, 3 were given the equivalent of suspended sentences under the Suppression of Communism Act, 2 were acquitted, and 1 died during the trial.

Previous Assembly Action

A 22d General Assembly resolution, adopted December 16, 1967, had appealed to all states and international organizations to use their influence to induce South Africa to discontinue the trial and to release and repatriate the defendants. The Secretary-General sent a circular letter and note, dated December 21, 1967, and January 8, 1968, respectively, requesting governments and organizations to inform him as soon as possible of action taken in response to the appeal.

U.S. Reply to Secretary-General

The U.S. reply of January 26 stated that the United States had sought, both through the United Nations and bilaterally, to convey its position on the trial to South Africa in clear terms. It pointed out that on November 12, 1967, the United States had voted in favor of a resolution in the Committee of 24 which condemned the trial and called for the release and repatriation of the accused, and that the United States was a cosponsor of the 22d General

Assembly resolution. In addition to the categorical position taken by the United States at the United Nations, U.S. representatives at the highest level, including the Vice President, had spoken out against the trial.

The reply noted that the United States had conveyed its concern directly to South Africa even before the General Assembly had acted. In addition, representatives of the U.S. Embassy at Pretoria often attended the trial and closely followed the proceedings. The reply concluded by stating that the United States remained ready to consider appropriate courses of action to bring relief to those already being tried or who might in the future be held in connection with the Terrorism Act. The U.S. Government was using every appropriate means to impress upon South Africa the need to respect the international status of the territory and the rights of the inhabitants, and to recognize the responsibility of the international community for the territory.

First Security Council Consideration

In a letter of January 23 to the Security Council President, the President of the U.N. Council for Namibia noted that South Africa had not complied with the 22d General Assembly resolution or other U.N. efforts to secure the release and repatriation of the Namibians and asked that the matter be brought to the Council's attention as a matter of urgency. On January 24 the representatives of 53 countries formally requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the question. The Council convened on January 25.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Buffum pointed out that this was the first time that the Security Council had been seized with

problems relating directly to Namibia. The United States shared the widely felt concern about the fate of the 37 Namibians and also shared the sense of urgency surrounding the meeting since a judgment was expected momentarily. It was the U.S. belief that the entire international community had a responsibility to the individuals on trial, deriving from the international status of the territory, the commitments implied by chapters IX (International Economic and Social Cooperation) and XI (Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories) of the Charter, the general principles of international law, and a very fundamental and basic concern for the humanitarian treatment of fellow human beings. Accordingly, the United States thought it entirely appropriate that the Council should be asked to add its influential voice to the general call to cease the illegal trial and to do so with the same unity that existed when the 22d General Assembly resolution was adopted.

At the same meeting, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution reiterating its consciousness of "the special responsibilities of the United Nations toward the people and the territory of South-West Africa" and condemning South Africa's refusal to comply with the provisions of the 22d General Assembly resolution. The resolution also called upon South Africa "to discontinue forthwith this illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South-West Africans concerned" and invited all states to exert their influence to induce South Africa to comply. The Secretary-General was requested to report to the Council on implementation of the resolution, and the Council decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

On the same day the Secretary-General cabled the text of this resolution to the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, requesting information on South Africa's intentions. The Foreign Minister, Hilgard Muller,

replied January 30 that South Africa's position relating to relevant General Assembly resolutions, including the one terminating South Africa's mandate, remained as before, i.e., the resolutions were illegal, and therefore without effect, as well as unrealistic. Furthermore, the case of the persons accused of terrorism was still before the South African courts; he did not enter into any discussion of the case.

Request for Further Council Meeting

On February 9 the President of the Council for Namibia again wrote the President of the Security Council stating that:

Since the Government of South Africa has disregarded the will of the General Assembly and the unanimous decision of the Security Council, it is the view of the United Nations Council for South-West Africa that the Security Council . . . should consider taking appropriate action.

On February 12, the 11 members of the Council for Namibia wrote the President of the Security Council requesting an urgent meeting; 50 other U.N. members later associated themselves with the 11-power request.

Committee of 24 Consideration

In anticipation of the Security Council meeting, the Committee of 24 on February 14 authorized its chairman to draw up, in consultation with other members of the Committee, a consensus on "the situation resulting from the illegal trial of a group of Namibians and the sentences imposed on them in defiance of" the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and to bring the Committee consensus to

the attention of the Security Council.

On February 15, the chairman submitted the text of a draft consensus which, *inter alia*, expressed the Committee's "profound indignation" at this further instance of South Africa's "contemptuous disregard" and "flagrant defiance" of U.N. resolutions. It considered that the attitude of the South African Government constituted a "major obstacle to the transfer of power to the people of South-West Africa and the attainment by the Territory of full and complete independence." Accordingly, the draft consensus expressed the view that the Security Council "should consider urgently taking effective action."

Commenting on the draft consensus, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, said that the United States joined "wholeheartedly in the general feeling of profound indignation at the trial" but that as a member of the Security Council it could not associate itself with any language that might be construed to predetermine the outcome of the Council's consideration.

On the understanding that the reservations expressed by some members would be included in the record of the meeting, the Committee of 24 adopted the consensus and transmitted it to the Security Council on February 15.

Later in the year the Committee briefly considered other aspects of the Namibian question on April 30 and October 29.

South Africa's Position

As soon as the verdicts had been pronounced, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs offered "some further comments" on the trial in a letter to the Secretary-General dated February 15. In describing the salient features of the trial, he stated that the prosecution had presented an overwhelming

volume of evidence, the general import of which was not disputed by defense counsel, proving that the defendants had been trained in guerrilla tactics, armed, and infiltrated into Ovamboland "to overthrow law and order in the Territory."

An important part of the judgment, according to the Foreign Minister, concerned the degree of participation and guilt of each accused in the overall conspiracy as well as in the specific acts alleged to have been committed by one or more of the accused. The defense argued that the accused could not all be treated alike. The prosecution's view was that once the state had proved the general purpose of a conspiracy and it was proved that an accused had associated himself with that purpose, then he was responsible for every crime committed by every one of his accomplices, provided the crimes were reasonably foreseeable. This was the view accepted by the trial judge.

Discussing the sentences, the Foreign Minister quoted the trial judge as saying that he had decided not to impose the death penalty, for which there was provision in the Terrorism Act, because the accused were "misguided dupes of communist indoctrination." The judge also said that he had agreed to the relevancy of the fact that all the crimes were committed before the Terrorism Act had been adopted by the South African Parliament. In determining appropriate sentences, the Foreign Minister indicated, account was taken of the common law offenses—armed robbery, attempted murder, resisting arrest—which the accused had been proved to have committed.

The letter discussed the rationale of the Terrorism Act and analyzed some of its main provisions concluding that:

The South African Government subscribes to the rule of law, but it is not prepared to expose the peoples committed to its care to terrorist aggression because of a dogmatic insistence on the immutability

of certain selective legal rules and procedures.

These considerations made it necessary, according to the Minister, to continue to apply the Terrorism Act to South-West Africa and to detain the South-West Africans convicted in connection with the Act.

Second Security Council Consideration

When the Security Council reconvened February 16, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, stated that the members were meeting

... to consider the question of 33 South-West Africans convicted, as one of them said, "in a foreign land, in a foreign language, by the court of a foreign government, on charges which must also be described as foreign."

The defendants had been brought to trial, according to Ambassador Goldberg, under laws effectively denying them elementary human rights.

Although those already convicted had escaped the death penalty, the U.S. Representative noted that the South African trial judge had issued a public warning "that in the future our courts will not necessarily hesitate to inflict the death sentence." It was obvious, he said, that the sentences already imposed, and the judge's warning, all served South Africa's purpose to deter Namibians from peaceful political action. It was also obvious that the South African authorities were hoping that police-state measures, exemplified by the Terrorism Act of 1967, would neutralize political opposition from such groups as the South-West Africa People's Organization, so that South Africa might proceed unhindered in the territory with its policy of apartheid and its strategy of divide and rule.

Against this background of injustice, the U.S. Government viewed

with serious concern recent reports in the South African press that other alleged terrorists had been arrested under the Terrorism Act. The United States, he said, could not with equanimity ignore the possibility of future trials. The U.S. Representative said that the United States had given careful consideration to the difficult problem of how best to bring practical relief to the Namibians already sentenced and to any others who might be detained and charged. He made several suggestions:

First, the United Nations through its appropriate organs, and individual U.N. members, should continue and increase their efforts to persuade the South African Government of the wrongness of its actions and to secure the release and repatriation of the Namibians.

Second, recourse might be made to the International Court of Justice in order to divest the actions of the South African Government of the cloak of legality.

Third, a special representative of the Secretary-General might be dispatched to southern Africa to undertake all possible humanitarian measures to alleviate the unfortunate conditions there.

Fourth, the International Committee of the Red Cross should be invited by the South African Government to have full, continuing, and unimpeded access to all Namibians who have at any time been detained under the Terrorism Act.

After seven meetings in February and March the Security Council on March 14 unanimously adopted a resolution:

Reaffirming that the continued detention and trial and subsequent sentencing of the South-West Africans constitute an illegal act and a flagrant violation of the rights of the South-West Africans concerned, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the international status of the Territory now under direct U.N. responsibility.

The resolution demanded that South Africa "forthwith release and

repatriate the South-West Africans concerned" and decided that in the event of South Africa's failure to comply, the Security Council would "meet immediately to determine upon effective steps or measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations." The resolution also called upon U.N. members, particularly those in a position to take effective action, to cooperate with the Council to obtain South Africa's compliance. The Secretary-General was requested to report to the Council not later than March 31 on the implementation of the resolution and the Council decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

In explaining the U.S. vote on March 14, Ambassador Goldberg referred to the intensive consultations that had taken place prior to the meeting and to the spirit of conciliation which had made it possible to table a resolution commanding unanimous support in the Council. In this connection, he cited the sponsors' assurances that both the January 25 Security Council resolution and the present one fell within Chapter VI (Pacific Settlement of Disputes) and that there was neither commitment to nor exclusion of any particular Charter approach in any future Security Council consideration of the matter. He added that the unanimous support for this resolution was a fact which should be borne in mind by the South African Government. It was an expression of the firm will and intent of the international community on an issue of international responsibility. It should and must be heeded.

Resumed 22d General Assembly Consideration

When the 22d session of the General Assembly resumed on April 24 the "Question of South-West

Africa" was the first item considered. Over 70 statements were made on this topic during the debate.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, spoke on May 20 and recalled that during the debate on the 21st Assembly's South-West Africa resolution the United States had stated a view still valid today. To be effective on this issue the United Nations needed more than world opinion voiced by words in a resolution. It needed world cooperation manifested by concrete action and by steps that could be practicably implemented and that lay within the capacity of the organization. The action taken by the Assembly therefore should be both intrinsically sound and widely supported. This was necessary for the sake of the people of the territory who had a right to expect not only words but also concrete, helpful, and meaningful actions.

Ambassador Goldberg described U.S. efforts to dissuade South Africa from taking any action in violation of its international obligations and of pertinent U.N. resolutions. He said the United States had "promptly reacted when South Africa moved to apply its Terrorism Act to South-West Africa" and had made repeated diplomatic representations in an effort to obtain the release and repatriation of South-West Africans detained in connection with the Act. The United States had also protested the introduction of the "homelands bill" which was "plainly designed to fragment the territory on apartheid principles," as well as other steps by South Africa to alter the international status of the territory. In addition to these diplomatic efforts the United States had adhered scrupulously to the U.N. embargo on the supply of arms and military equipment to South Africa.

The U.S. Representative said that he must candidly agree that thus far the efforts of the United States and other governments and of the United

Nations itself had been unavailing against the obdurate attitude of South Africa. Nevertheless, there were a number of fields in which action might be possible and fruitful. One of these was of assistance to, and particularly education and training for, Namibian refugees. He recalled that several delegations had also suggested that the Security Council ought to be enlisted in efforts to enable the people of the territory to exercise their right to self-determination. The United States would not be averse to enlisting the Security Council "in an appropriate way," but he cautioned that no one should prejudge the kind of action the Council ought to take, and no one could forecast that there would be fewer difficulties in the Council than in the Assembly in trying to reach a consensus on practical and peaceful action.

He concluded by pledging U.S. cooperation in seeking to frame a realistic, peaceful, and practical course of action that could bring the United Nations nearer its goals of "the self-determination, freedom, and independence of South-West Africa."

On June 12, by a vote of 96 to 2, with 18 abstentions (U.S.), the Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by 55 states.

The resolution proclaimed that "in accordance with the desires of its people, South-West Africa shall henceforth be known as 'Namibia,'" and also changed accordingly the official names of the Council for South-West Africa and the Commissioner for South-West Africa.

In other operative paragraphs the resolution condemned South Africa for its refusal to withdraw from Namibia, and condemned South Africa's action "designed to consolidate its illegal control over Namibia and to destroy the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of Namibia." It also condemned the "political, military, and economic collaboration" of other states with South Africa, which

allegedly encouraged that country to defy the United Nations.

The resolution called upon all states to desist from dealings with South Africa that would have the effect of perpetuating the latter's illegal occupation of the territory, and to take effective economic and other measures to secure the withdrawal of South Africa from the territory. It also called upon all states to provide moral and material assistance to the Namibian people "in their legitimate struggle for independence" and to assist the U.N. Council for Namibia in discharging its responsibilities.

The General Assembly decided that the Council for Namibia should as a matter of priority:

- (1) in consultation and cooperation with specialized agencies and other U.N. organs, assume responsibility for establishing a coordinated emergency program of technical and financial assistance to Namibia;

- (2) in consultation with interested governments, organize a training program for Namibians "so that a cadre of civil servants and of technical and professional personnel may be developed who would be in a position to undertake the public administration and the social, political and economic development of the State;" and

- (3) urgently continue its consultations on the question of issuing travel documents to Namibians living abroad.

The Assembly considered that South Africa's continued presence in the territory constituted "a grave threat to international peace and security" and recommended that the Security Council urgently take all appropriate steps to insure South Africa's immediate removal and to secure Namibia's independence.

On June 14 the Secretary-General transmitted the text of the resolution to all member states and requested that governments inform him as early as possible of actions taken to secure South Africa's withdrawal

and to provide moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia.

U.S. Reply to Secretary-General

On July 19 the United States told the Secretary-General that it had consistently supported the principle of self-determination for Namibia and to that end had voted for the General Assembly resolution under which South Africa's mandate was ended and the United Nations assumed direct responsibility for the territory. The United States considered that South Africa had forfeited any right to administer Namibia, and its representatives had so stated at the United Nations and to the South African Government. Similarly, the United States had protested specific violations of the rights of the Namibian people and of the international community, including the illegal application of the Terrorism and "Homelands" Acts to the territory. The reply also indicated that the U.S. Government had from time to time taken other specific steps such as the imposition of a strict embargo on the sale and shipment of arms to South Africa and making voluntary contributions to the U.N. Educational and Training Program for South Africans and the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa.

The U.S. reply pointed out that there had not been unanimity on the appropriate means to implement the 1966 resolution revoking South Africa's mandate, as reflected in the number of countries, including the United States, that abstained on later Assembly resolutions, including the most recent one. Nevertheless, the United States would continue working to achieve the objectives of the 1966 resolution and was prepared to consider other appropriate and practical measures which might be

taken alone or with other countries to further these goals.

Proceedings of Council for Namibia

The Council for Namibia¹ held 21 meetings between May 5 and November 13 during which it established a subcommittee to implement the tasks assigned it by the General Assembly on June 12 (see p. 198); consulted with specialized agencies and organs of the United Nations; and considered—among other questions—the educational and training requirements of Namibians living abroad, and the question of travel documents for Namibians. During this period it also issued three statements on developments in the territory.

On May 27 the Council issued a declaration expressing its concern over the introduction in the South African Parliament of the Development of Self-Government for Native Nations of South-West Africa bill. Its purpose, according to the Council, was "to bring about the dismemberment of the Territory." On September 4 it issued a statement condemning "the forcible removal of non-white Namibians from their homes in the Old Location of Windhoek to a new segregated area in Katutura." Finally, on October 25 it informed the Security Council of the "serious situation" that had arisen in the northeastern part of the territory in the region of the Caprivi Strip, where it was informed that the South African police had "killed 46 Namibians and arrested 117 others."

The Council's *ad hoc* committee on the question of travel documents, established in 1967, continued its study of the political, legal, and

¹ Chile, Colombia, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, U.A.R., Yugoslavia, Zambia.

administrative factors involved in the issuance of travel documents to South-West Africans living abroad. Proceeding on the premise that travel documents issued by the Council would only be effective if they assured the Namibians' right to return to their countries of refuge, the Council sought the views of the African governments providing such refuge. It decided that at an appropriate time a delegation consisting of the Acting Commissioner for Namibia and one or two Council members would visit Dar es Salaam, Lusaka, and other African capitals to complete arrangements for issuing travel documents. The Council also asked the Secretary-General to request all U.N. members

to undertake to recognize and accept as valid the travel and identity documents issued by the Council to Namibians abroad, subject to the usual visa requirements of each State concerned, and to extend their full cooperation to the Council in the effective implementation of the scheme for the issuance of travel documents to Namibians.

The Council decided to establish a subcommittee to review South African legislation affecting Namibia, to prepare a digest of those laws and regulations considered to be "contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter," and to make recommendations to the Council on which laws and regulations should be abrogated.

The Council also considered the possibility of inviting representatives of the Namibian people to participate in its work and on September 27 decided to call a meeting of representatives of all Namibian political parties and organizations to work out final arrangements for Namibian participation.

In the conclusion of its report to the General Assembly the Council for Namibia stated that the South African Government had persisted in and intensified its defiance of all U.N. decisions with respect to Namibia, including the demand that South African military and police

forces and the South Africa civil administration be withdrawn. Moreover, South Africa had sought to consolidate its illegal control over the territory. The most serious step in this direction was the implementation of the decision to create separate tribal homelands which would destroy Namibia's territorial integrity and make easier its illegal annexation. The Council stated that unless effective measures were taken to ensure the immediate removal of South Africa, it would not be able fully to discharge its functions and responsibilities, and reiterated its view that the trend of developments in the territory "points to the distinct likelihood of the outbreak of violence and racial war on an unprecedented scale." It stated that this situation constituted "an aggravation of the already serious threat to international peace and security in the area" and that it was the responsibility of the United Nations to act resolutely and without delay to avert this threat.

The Council recommended that the General Assembly adopt these urgent measures: request the Security Council to take effective measures, including, as appropriate, those provided for under Chapter VII (enforcement action), to secure the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia; call upon all states to pursue all diplomatic, consular, commercial, or other activities involving the territory exclusively with the Council for Namibia; declare illegal and invalid all transactions with the South African authorities involving Namibia undertaken or continued after the termination of South Africa's mandate; call upon all states to cooperate fully with the Council for Namibia in its efforts to discharge its responsibilities; call upon all states to extend necessary assistance to the Council with regard to travel documents; call upon South Africa to respect the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and, for the benefit

of captured "freedom fighters," the Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War; request the U.N. Administrative Committee on Coordination, in consultation with the Council for Namibia, to examine the question of a coordinated emergency program of technical and financial assistance to Namibia; and make adequate provision in the regular U.N. budget for the activities of the Council for Namibia.

23d General Assembly Consideration

The 23d General Assembly considered the "Question of Namibia" in plenary session between November 25 and December 16.

On December 10 the U.S. Representative, Brewster C. Denny, said that the United States continued to support the position, adopted by the General Assembly in 1966, that South Africa had forfeited the right to administer Namibia. The United States would continue to support the search for peaceful and practical means about the effective—and not only the legal—termination of South Africa's administration of the territory. However, South Africa should not suppose, because the United Nations had not yet found these means, that the termination of its legal mandate absolved it from international responsibility for its action in the territory. Regardless of the fact that South Africa no longer had any legal right in Namibia, it continued, as illegal occupant, to be answerable before the international community for all of its actions in the territory.

The U.S. Representative criticized South Africa's continued refusal to release and repatriate the 31 Namibians convicted of terrorist activities. He also noted that the General Assembly had called upon South Africa not to apply the Self-

Government for Native Nations of South-West Africa Act. South Africa had claimed that the terms of the act were arrived at through consultations with the people of Namibia and therefore represented a valid form of self-determination. However, the United States had posed serious questions about the nature of these consultations. Unless such questions could be satisfactorily answered and the answers verified, the United States was obliged to maintain its view that this act represented "not a valid form of self-determination, but rather a complicated exercise in divide and rule, designed to entrench apartheid and to delay forever any possibility of true self-determination."

Mr. Denny observed that in South Africa itself, especially within the religious, university, press, and legal communities, there was increasing concern about the moral implications of a policy which separated men from their wives, families, and normal social ties and consigned large populations to poverty-stricken reserves without hope of economic development. The United States hoped that "the growing realization of the political bankruptcy and economic absurdity" of apartheid would at last force a fundamental reappraisal of the policies South Africa was attempting to entrench in the territory. Meanwhile, the government and people of South Africa should understand that the international community would not surrender its responsibility for Namibia or be satisfied with unverified claims that the rights and well-being of the people of the territory were being protected.

A draft resolution on Namibia, sponsored by 51 states, was adopted on December 16 by a vote of 96 to 2, with 16 abstentions (U.S.). Mr. Denny explained that the United States regretted its inability to vote for the resolution. Although there were certain provisions in it with which the United States agreed,

there were others that it could not support because of the approach advocated.

In the resolution's operative paragraphs the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle against the foreign occupation of their country. The Assembly repeated its condemnation of South Africa for its persistent defiance of the United Nations, its refusal to withdraw from the territory, and its actions designed to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. It decided to draw the Security Coun-

cil's attention to the situation created by South Africa's illegal presence and actions in Namibia and recommended that the Council urgently take all effective measures to insure the immediate withdrawal of South Africa and to enable the territory to attain independence. It commended the recommendations in the report of the U.N. Council for Namibia "for consideration by the appropriate organs of the United Nations."

Also on December 16 the General Assembly decided to continue the existing arrangement whereby the U.N. Legal Counsel served as Acting Commissioner for Namibia

Portuguese Territories

Although the question of the Portuguese African territories continued to receive U.N. attention, there were few new developments during the year.

Committee of 24 Consideration

At its opening session on February 1 the Committee of 24 heard a statement by the U.N. Secretary-General in which, *inter alia*, he regretted Portugal's refusal to give effect in its African territories to the principle of self-determination and its continued pursuit of political and economic integration of those territories with Portugal. He believed the intensification of military operations in the territories had aggravated a situation which the Security Council during 1965 had described as a

serious disturbance of international peace and security.

FIRST RESOLUTION

On June 26 the Committee adopted a 13-power draft resolution by a vote of 18 to 3 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions. The resolution, *inter alia*, requested all states, and particularly Portugal's NATO allies, to halt the supply of weapons and military equipment to Portugal. It recommended that the Security Council urgently consider adoption of the necessary measures to make mandatory the provisions of earlier Council and General Assembly resolutions concerning the Portuguese territories. (The Security Council on November 23, 1965, had requested all states to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to Portugal, and to refrain from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance "which would enable it to continue its repression of the people of

the territories under its administration." This was followed by a General Assembly request on December 21 that members take a series of measures against Portugal, including breaking diplomatic and consular relations and boycotting all trade.)

The resolution also strongly condemned "the activities of the financial interests operating in the Territories under Portuguese domination, which increasingly exploit the human and material resources of the Territories and impede the progress of their peoples toward freedom and independence."

In explaining his vote, U.S. Representative Richard E. Johnson stressed that NATO was an instrument for collective defense of the North Atlantic area. He noted that this area included North America, Europe, and certain additional areas, all of which were north of the Tropic of Cancer, pointing out that none of the Portuguese territories were north of that line. He denied the existence of any secret agreements expanding the NATO area of responsibility. Mr. Johnson emphasized that since 1961 U.S. policy had prohibited the export from the United States of any military equipment directly to the Portuguese African territories or to Portugal for its use in Africa. Noting that U.S. military assistance to Portugal was at a very modest level and not of a nature relevant to operations in the Portuguese territories, he said there was no logical basis for statements, some of which had found a place in the resolution, focusing responsibility on NATO and sometimes specifically on the United States for Portugal's refusal to grant self-determination to its territories.

Mr. Johnson also stressed that the fact that the United States and Portugal were both members of NATO did not commit the United States to support Portuguese policies in Africa. He said the U.S. position in its simplest terms was that the territories must continue to be regarded as non-self-governing and

that their people should have "the opportunity for the full and free exercise of their right of self-determination, including the choice of independence." He rejected charges that American private investment and trade in Portuguese Africa constituted "economic exploitation," blocking advances toward self-determination. He pointed out that the bulk of American trade and investment in Africa was concentrated in the independent countries north of the Zambezi River.

SECOND RESOLUTION

On August 13 the Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), an African nationalist organization in Portuguese Guinea, sent the Committee of 24 a telegram accusing Portugal of "actively preparing to use chemical defoliants against population [of the] liberated regions and poison gas against our forces." The telegram also claimed that the African population in Portuguese Guinea "for almost six years has been suffering massacres [of the] peace-loving population, bombings [of] all kinds, including napalm and white phosphorous." Following receipt of this telegram 12 members of the Committee of 24 introduced a draft resolution condemning Portugal for the alleged actions. This resolution was adopted September 23 by a vote of 19 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.). Before voting on the resolution as a whole, there was a separate vote on the operative paragraph condemning Portugal. That paragraph was approved by a vote of 18 to 4 (U.S.), with 1 abstention.

The U.S. Representative, in a brief statement, explained that his delegation believed that the evidence provided by the PAIGC was inadequate to sustain the strong language of the draft resolution. Further, he stated that the resolution's condemnatory language prejudged any investigation of the alleged incidents.

General Assembly

Consideration

General Assembly consideration of the Portuguese territories began in late October. During the course of its general debate on the subject, the Fourth Committee heard several petitioners representing independence movements in Portuguese Africa. The petitioners urged U.N. members to impose a program of complete mandatory sanctions against Portugal, to cease military assistance to that government, and to provide increased assistance to the African inhabitants of the territories. The Committee also had before it the report of the Committee of 24 on the Portuguese territories.

On November 15 the Congo (Kinshasa) and India introduced a draft resolution eventually cosponsored by 54 states. The draft was debated during two Committee sessions. On November 20 the Committee adopted it by a roll-call vote of 96 to 3 (Portugal), with 13 abstentions (U.S.). Among other provisions, the draft appealed to all states, and particularly members of NATO, to withhold any assistance from Portugal. It drew the attention of the Security Council "to the grave situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination, which has also aggravated the explosive situation in southern Africa." It urgently appealed to all states to prevent the recruitment or training of mercenaries in their territories. It condemned Portugal's refusal to grant self-determination to the peoples of its territories; the "collaboration between Portugal, the minority racist regime of South Africa, and the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia"; and Portugal's "violations . . . of the territorial integ-

ity and sovereignty of independent African states."

In a brief explanation of his vote, U.S. Representative Denny told the Committee that although in 1967 the United States had voted against the Committee's resolution on the Portuguese territories, the United States had been able to change its position and abstain on the current resolution because some of the features most objectionable to the United States in the resolution of the previous year had been eliminated, and other matters, while still not totally acceptable, had been modified. He said that although the improvements had not been sufficient to permit his delegation to vote affirmatively, he welcomed the newly revived process of consultation and discussion and hoped that this approach would make it possible for future resolutions on colonialism to enjoy broader support. Mr. Denny said the United States could not support those sections of the resolution that made findings which are the responsibility of the Security Council (i.e., the paragraphs asserting that Portugal had violated the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African states). He pointed out that neither NATO nor the United States gave any aid to Portugal which "enables her to pursue her military operations in the territories" and thought the reference to NATO should have been eliminated. He thanked the cosponsors for their "statesmanlike efforts at consultations" and asked that the record show his government's "full support for the aspirations of the people of the Portuguese Territories to exercise self-determination."

The Fourth Committee forwarded its draft resolution to the General Assembly which adopted it November 29 by a vote of 85 to 3, with 15 abstentions (U.S.).

Southern Rhodesia

In 1968 the question of Southern Rhodesia was again a major concern of the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the Committee of 24. Prolonged Security Council consideration of the issue resulted in a decision in May to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against the illegal regime in Salisbury. The new sanctions were an extension of the selective sanctions program imposed against Southern Rhodesia by the Security Council on December 16, 1966.

Committee of 24 Consideration

On February 1 the Committee of 24 heard a statement by the U.N. Secretary-General in which he said neither British Government action nor implementation of the limited economic sanctions program had brought the quick and positive movement toward a peaceful solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia that the international community had been encouraged to expect. He said he expected the Committee to examine what further measures might be required to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration.

On March 6 the Ian Smith regime hanged three Africans who had been convicted of murder, even though the Queen had commuted the sentences of the three men on March 2. All members of the Committee of 24 made statements strongly deploring the executions. On March 6, 16 Committee members submitted a draft resolution strongly condemning the "assassination" of the prisoners

and deploring the failure of the United Kingdom to prevent the perpetration of such "crimes" in its colony. The draft called on the United Kingdom urgently to take steps to prevent the recurrence of such "crimes" and drew the urgent attention of the Security Council to the "grave situation" in the territory. The resolution was adopted the next day by a vote of 20 to 0, with 4 abstentions (Australia, Italy, U.K., U.S.). In explaining the U.S. abstention, Ambassador Finger regretted having been unable to vote in favor of the resolution, since the United States was deeply concerned at the illegal executions. He said the United States thought the resolution lacked realism because it censured the United Kingdom and called on that government to take action in a situation it could not control.

Almost all Committee members made further statements on March 11, expressing shock and indignation at the news that two more African prisoners had been executed.

Security Council Consideration

The Security Council renewed its consideration of the Rhodesian problem on March 19 at the request of 36 African states. In their March 12 letter requesting the meeting, the Africans noted that 15 months had passed since the Council had acted to impose a program of selective mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and it had become apparent that the loosely observed selective sanctions would not bring an end to the rebellion. The Africans argued that the failure of the sanctions had been dramatically demonstrated by the March hangings.

The Council met again on March 20 and 26, but, in the absence of agreement on further measures, it was unable to take any formal action.

On April 18 the Council received the first of two draft resolutions, both providing for further economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. This draft, sponsored by Algeria, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, and Senegal, called for the complete severance of all economic and other relations with Southern Rhodesia and urged the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures including the use of force to end the rebellion. *Inter alia*, it urged all states to support "national liberation movements," called on the United Kingdom to stop the execution of political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia, and censured Portugal and South Africa for their assistance to the Salisbury regime in defiance of the Council's earlier resolutions.

The second draft, sponsored by the United Kingdom and submitted April 23, called for a complete mandatory ban on all trade and financial relations with Southern Rhodesia with the exception of certain humanitarian, educational, and informational items. It urged non-member states to comply with the resolution and asked the Secretary-General to supervise and report on the implementation of all the sanctions. Finally, it called for the establishment of a Security Council committee composed of all Council members to evaluate and report on the implementation of sanctions.

In urging adoption of his government's draft, the U.K. Representative, Lord Caradon, said it represented the widest area of agreement that could be reached among Security Council members. Though some members wanted the United Kingdom to go further in taking action against the illegal regime, Lord Caradon said the Council owed it to the more than 4 million Rhodesian Africans not to raise

hopes that the Council had no power to satisfy. In the interest of taking unified and effective action, he asked that members not fully satisfied with the U.K. draft support it, nonetheless, because only a resolution having the support of all Council members could have full political impact.

Neither of the two drafts was found to be fully acceptable to Council members and they were not pressed to a vote. After intensive consultations which lasted over a month, a new draft resolution was finally brought to a vote on May 29. Before voting on the resolution as a whole, the Council rejected by a vote of 7 to 0, with 8 abstentions (U.S.), a Soviet amendment which would have obliged those states bearing political responsibility for the continued existence of the illegal regime (which according to the U.S.S.R. were the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., and U.S.) to compensate Zambia for any losses it incurred as a result of the implementation of the resolution. Then the Council approved by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (Hungary, U.S.S.R.), the paragraph the Soviets had sought to replace. This paragraph requested all states to extend assistance to Zambia as compensation for possible economic problems arising out of the sanctions program.

The resolution as a whole was adopted unanimously. It imposed virtually complete mandatory sanctions on trade with Southern Rhodesia, prohibited all investments in or transfers of funds to Southern Rhodesia, placed restrictions on air transport to the territory, established a limited travel ban, and set up a Security Council committee to supervise the sanctions program. The only exceptions to the embargo on trade were, in the case of exports to Southern Rhodesia, medical supplies, educational equipment and materials, publications, news material, and, in special humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs.

In his statement to the Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, emphasized that it was U.S. policy to continue to seek a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem which would ensure political justice and equal opportunity for all Rhodesians, regardless of race. He pledged U.S. support for the efforts of the United Kingdom and the United Nations toward that end.

Ambassador Goldberg said the United States would apply the mandatory provisions of the resolution with the same vigor it had applied those of the 1966 Security Council resolution. He noted that the wording of the resolution had taken into account that it is not legally possible for many states to bar entry to their territories of their own nationals. He said the United States would give careful consideration to the nonmandatory paragraph requesting states to take further action under article 41 of the Charter (concerning enforcement measures short of armed force) and to the paragraph emphasizing the need for the withdrawal of all consular and trade representation from Southern Rhodesia, taking into account the U.S. "profound belief in a free flow of information and communication throughout the world." He added that the United States had no trade representation in Southern Rhodesia.

General Assembly Consideration

FIRST RESOLUTION

The Fourth Committee of the General Assembly began discussing the question of Southern Rhodesia on October 7, amid reports that British Prime Minister Wilson was about to reopen negotiations with Ian Smith. Before it were a report of the Committee of 24, including its March 7 resolution, and a statement by the

Committee Chairman summarizing the views of a majority of its members on recent developments in Southern Rhodesia.

During the initial phase of the Assembly, Prime Minister Wilson and Smith met aboard H.M.S. *Fearless* at Gibraltar and for a time there appeared to be a possibility of a negotiated settlement. On October 25 the Fourth Committee adopted a 56-power draft resolution recommending that the General Assembly call on the United Kingdom to withhold independence from Southern Rhodesia until the territory had a government based on free elections by universal adult suffrage and on majority rule. The Committee vote was 87 to 2, with 16 abstentions (U.S.). The Committee-approved text was transmitted to the plenary "as a matter of urgency" and adopted by the Assembly that same day by a vote of 92 to 2, with 17 abstentions (U.S.).

SECOND RESOLUTION

Continuing its consideration of the Rhodesian question, the Fourth Committee on October 30 adopted a 50-power draft resolution by a vote of 89 to 9 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. This resolution, *inter alia*, called on the United Kingdom to use force to put an end to the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia and drew the attention of the Security Council to the "urgent necessity" of imposing sanctions on Portugal and South Africa.

Prior to the vote on the resolution as a whole, the U.S. Representative proposed that separate votes be taken on certain paragraphs in the draft on which his delegation wished to express its views. In making this request, he said that separate voting would allow the United States to abstain on the resolution as a whole, but that if his request were denied he would have no choice but to vote against the draft resolution. The U.S. proposal was rejected by a roll-

call vote of 17 (U.S.) to 78, with 18 abstentions.

On October 31 the U.S. Representative explained the vote saying that the United States was firmly dedicated to the principle of self-determination and independence for Southern Rhodesia but believed this could be achieved by peaceful means. If it had been allowed, his delegation would have voted in favor of the preamble to the draft resolution as well as certain operative paragraphs. However, the United States would have voted against certain other paragraphs which did not represent a realistic approach to the achievement of the objectives of self-determination and independence on a basis acceptable to the people of the country as a whole. Since the Committee majority had denied the request for a vote on specific paragraphs, the United States had voted against the draft resolution as a whole. The United States was also distressed, he said, by a more general consideration related to the effectiveness of the United Nations:

Since General Assembly resolutions are recommendations to member governments, they can only be effective to the extent that those members who are called upon to take action are prepared to do so. There is no evidence of adequate consultation before the drafting of this resolution which would have given confidence that the text presented would have the support of those member states who share its objectives and whose cooperation would be essential to its effectiveness. Unfortunately, with each Assembly resolution that is adopted in the clear knowledge that it cannot achieve its purpose, the influence of Assembly resolutions in general tends to be weakened.

The draft resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on November 7 by a vote of 86 to 9 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions.

Secretary-General's Reports

In carrying out his responsibilities under the two Security Council reso-

lutions that requested him to submit periodic reports to the Council on the progress of mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the Secretary-General transmitted the text of the May 29 Security Council resolution to all members of the United Nations or the specialized agencies. He requested governments to inform him of measures taken to comply with the Security Council's request and reminded them that refusal or failure to implement its mandatory provisions would constitute a violation of article 25 of the U.N. Charter. In a report of June 13, the Secretary-General provided additional information on the implementation of the Security Council resolution of December 16, 1966. This report also contained an analysis of the statistical data on trade received from various states since November 30, 1967.

On August 28 the Secretary-General issued a further report, which contained replies from some 60 states on implementation of the Security Council resolution of May 29.

On August 2 a note from the U.S. Representative called the Secretary-General's attention to Executive Order No. 11419 of July 29, which implemented the provisions of the May 29 Security Council resolution. The Executive order, based in part on Section 5 of the U.N. Participation Act of 1945 (59 stat. 620), as amended (22 USC 287(c)), extended the earlier prohibitions on imports from and exports to Southern Rhodesia to cover all commodities and products except exports to Southern Rhodesia of publications, news material, and articles needed for medical, educational, and humanitarian purposes. The order also prohibited any activities by persons under U.S. jurisdiction promoting or calculated to promote such imports and exports; the carriage of such articles on ships and aircraft of U.S. registry or under charter to U.S. nationals; transfers to Southern Rhodesia of funds and other financial or economic resources other than pensions, payments for

news material, and transfers for medical, educational, and humanitarian purposes; and finally the operation of air carriers and aircraft of U.S. registry or under charter to U.S. nationals to or from Southern Rhodesia or in coordination with airline companies constituted in or aircraft registered in Southern Rhodesia. The note also informed the Secretary-General that U.S. legislation already in force gave the government power to regulate the entry into the United States of persons traveling on Southern Rhodesian passports and persons ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia who might be deemed likely either to further or encourage the unlawful actions of the illegal regime, or to evade the economic sanctions.

Since the beginning of 1967 the United States has regularly submitted trade data to the Secretary-General as required by the Security Council resolutions.

During the remainder of 1968 the Secretary-General periodically reported to the Security Council on the progress of the sanctions program. His reports dealt primarily with replies received from about 90 countries, the great majority of which declared that they had implemented or intended fully to implement the comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Certain African countries indicated their desire to cooperate with the Security Council's decision to the maximum extent possible, given the fact that it would be extremely damaging to them to interrupt precipitously the close economic relations they had always had with Southern Rhodesia.

Security Council Committee

On July 29 the President of the Security Council announced that

agreement had been reached on the composition of the committee to be set up under the Council's resolution of May 29. The members were Algeria, France, India, Paraguay, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States. The committee would examine the Secretary-General's reports on the implementation of the resolution and seek from various states such further information as it considered necessary on their trade or on the activities of their nationals or in their territories that might "constitute an evasion of the measures decided upon."

The committee met for the first time on October 28. At that meeting, devoted entirely to organizational matters, the Indian Representative was elected chairman of the committee for the remainder of 1968, when India's term on the Security Council would come to an end.

The committee met again on November 11, the third anniversary of the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal regime in Salisbury. The committee agreed to expedite its work, in view of "the serious consequences of the continuing failure to end the rebellion." It undertook to examine reports already available to it and requested the assistance of the U.N. Secretariat in the preparation of further material. Noting the failure of certain states to reply to the Secretary-General's inquiries, the committee decided to ask the Secretary-General to issue further urgent reminders to the governments concerned, in particular those of South Africa and Portugal, to furnish the information desired. The committee requested the United Kingdom to provide the fullest possible information on Southern Rhodesia and to make available to the committee periodic assessments of the extent to which the sanctions were effective.

The committee held a third meeting on December 30 and adopted its first report to the Security Council.

This report recounted the committee's actions in 1968 and informed the Council that Southern Rhodesia's foreign trade remained quite substantial through mid-1968, despite the Security Council resolutions of 1965 and 1966. The report mentioned particularly that Southern Rhodesian trade with South Africa and Portugal appeared to have remained

at a substantial level. In annexes to the report, the committee submitted trade data on Southern Rhodesia, two British notes concerning the possible evasion of sanctions in commodities such as tobacco and television film, and a further British note assessing the effects of sanctions on the Rhodesian economy up to mid-1968.

Scholarship Programs

Trust Territories

The Secretary-General submits an annual report to the Trusteeship Council on the special scholarship program established in 1952 by the General Assembly for the inhabitants of trust territories. In his report for the period May 20, 1967, to May 31, 1968, the Secretary-General stated that scholarships had been offered by 11 member states, but he knew of no applications for them from the two remaining trust territories.

The Secretary-General's report was considered by the Trusteeship Council on June 11. The Soviet Representative referred to the fact that, in spite of the shortage of qualified personnel in the trust territories, the inhabitants were not making use of the scholarships and fellowships offered them. He said the U.S.S.R. was prepared to admit inhabitants of the trust territories to its educational institutions, as evidenced by the 1967 award of a fellowship to a student from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The Soviet Representative reminded the administering authorities that the Council had consistently recommended that they make broader use

of fellowship offers, and not send students only to those countries belonging to a rather narrow group.

The U.S. Representative replied that the United States was favorably disposed to the provision of scholarships and training facilities by member states and that such offers were widely publicized in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. During the past 10 years, more than 40 Micronesian students had studied in various countries under U.N. scholarships. Although one student had gone to the Soviet Union in 1967, no other Micronesian appeared eager to study there. He thought it was understandable that students would prefer scholarships in countries that are readily accessible and that do not entail the learning of a foreign language. The fact that there are roughly five times as many Micronesians studying at institutions of higher learning as there were a decade ago shows that there is no substantial lack of facilities open to them.

The Trusteeship Council decided to take note of the report of the Secretary-General and drew the attention of the administering authorities to the observations made by members of the Council.

Non-Self-Governing Territories

Since 1954 the General Assembly has made it a practice to invite member states to extend study and training facilities to the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories, and the Secretary-General has submitted an annual report on the number of scholarships offered and awarded each year.

His report of November 6 transmitted information from 12 countries, including the United States, that had offered and/or awarded scholarships between October 1967 and October 1968, and noted that since the beginning of the program a total of 27 countries had offered scholarships.

The General Assembly's Fourth Committee considered the Secretary-General's report together with related agenda items between November 18 and December 4. On December 13 the Committee adopted without objection a resolution (1) requesting member states to furnish complete information about scholarship offers and, if possible, to furnish travel funds to prospective students, and (2) requesting the Secretary-General to report to the 24th Assembly on the implementation of the resolution.

The General Assembly approved the resolution without objection on December 18.

Southern Africa

At its 22d session in 1967 the General Assembly authorized the administrative and financial consolidation of U.N. educational and training programs for Namibians, Africans from territories under Portuguese administration, and South

Africans, and requested the Secretary-General to report to the 23d General Assembly on the progress of the consolidated program.

The Secretary-General's report of October 22 stated that the program had become fully operational in January 1968. It further stated that of 390 scholarships already in use, 201 were extended and that in response to 574 scholarship applications received between January 1 and September 30, 112 new awards were made. The report indicated that 58 additional scholarships would be awarded and 63 scholarships extended if funds became available, but it stated that "if contributions were not forthcoming, he [the Secretary-General] would find it very difficult even to implement existing commitments." To ensure the continuation of the program, the Secretary-General proposed to the General Assembly that, pending receipt of adequate voluntary contributions, some provision be made in the 1969 regular U.N. budget for the U.N. Training and Educational Program.

On December 16 the Fourth Committee adopted by a vote of 89 (U.S.) to 1, with 1 abstention, a resolution:

(1) appealing to all states, organizations, and individuals to contribute generously to the program;

(2) requesting the Secretary-General to establish a committee composed of representatives of member states to advise him on the promotion of contributions and on the granting of subventions to African educational institutions to enable them to provide places for southern Africans;

(3) deciding that as a transitional measure the 1969 regular U.N. budget should set aside \$100,000 for the program; and

(4) requesting the Secretary-General to report to the 24th General Assembly on the progress of the program.

The resolution was approved in plenary on December 18 by a vote of 115 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

*Legal and
Constitutional
Developments*

Part Four

International Court of Justice

On September 23 Mauritius deposited its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice under article 36 of its Statute, bringing the total of states accepting such jurisdiction to 44 by the end of the year. A number of countries, however, including the United States, maintain significant reservations to their acceptances.

In April, while the Court was holding an administrative session, the U.N. Secretary-General visited the Court to discuss matters affecting it as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. This was his first official visit to the Court, and U Thant assured the members that he fully appreciated the need for this impartial tribunal which, he said, can contribute more than any other organ to the eventual triumph of law and justice in the solution of international differences.

In the fall members of the Court, including its President, José L. Bustamante y Rivero (Peru), and Philip C. Jessup (U.S.), visited U.N. Headquarters in New York at the time of the 23d session of the General Assembly. For the first time the Court prepared an annual report and submitted it for the information of the Assembly. The Secretary-Gen-

eral requested that an item "Report of the International Court of Justice" be placed on the Assembly's agenda, a practice which seems likely to become routine.

The Court continued to deal with the three contentious cases already on its docket; no new contentious cases or requests for advisory opinions were submitted during 1968.

In the Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd. (*Belgium v. Spain*), final written pleadings were filed by Spain in June and oral arguments were scheduled for early 1969. This case, originally submitted to the Court in 1958, concerns a dispute between Belgian nationals who were shareholders in the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd., a Canadian corporation, and the Spanish Government. In its complaint the Belgian Government, on behalf of its nationals, alleged that the conduct of the Spanish authorities in declaring the company bankrupt and liquidating its property was contrary to international law and that Spain was responsible for the resulting damages. In 1964 the Court rejected Spain's Preliminary Objections to its jurisdiction and joined the following remaining Preliminary Objections to the merits:

(1) that the claim is inadmissible because Belgium lacks standing in law to make such a claim on behalf of Belgian interests in a Canadian company, assuming the Belgian interests were established; and

(2) that even if Belgium had standing, the claim is inadmissible because of failure to exhaust local remedies.

The other two cases are being considered jointly as the North Sea Continental Shelf Cases (*Denmark v. Federal Republic of Germany; Federal Republic of Germany v. Netherlands*). During the year final written pleadings were filed and oral arguments were presented to the Court during October and November. The Court's judgment was to be handed down in 1969. The parties in these cases

have asked the Court to decide what principles and rules of international law are applicable to the delimitation by the countries concerned of the areas of the Continental Shelf in the North Sea which appertain to each of the parties beyond the partial boundaries determined in bilateral conventions between Denmark and Germany in 1965, and between Germany and the Netherlands in 1964.

In an effort to modernize its procedures, the Court in 1967 established a committee of five of its members, including Judge Jessup, to revise its 1946 rules. At its administrative session in April the Court began its consideration of the committee's report. This work on rule revision will be completed at a future session of the Court.

International Law Commission

The International Law Commission, established by the General Assembly in 1948 to promote the progressive development and codification of international law, is composed of 25 experts, elected by the Assembly for 5-year terms, who serve in their individual capacities. In 1966 the 21st General Assembly elected Richard D. Kearney of the United States to the Commission.

At its 20th session, held in Geneva May 27–August 2, the Commission approved 21 draft articles concerning the relations between states and international organizations. These articles lay down principles and procedures concerning the functions and responsibilities of a permanent mission to an international organization, and relate to such matters as size and composition of the mission,

credentials, accreditation, and notifications to the organization and the host country. Future articles may deal with delegations to organs of international organizations, conferences convened by international organizations and permanent observers from nonmember states to international organizations. The draft articles have been submitted to U.N. member states for comment. The Commission expects to conclude its work on this topic in 1971.

The second major topic on the Commission's agenda, the succession of states and governments, was subdivided into two parts: succession in respect of treaties, and succession in respect of matters other than treaties. The first part deals with how far treaties previously concluded and applicable with respect to a given ter-

ritory continue to be applicable after a change in the sovereignty over that territory, as, for example, where a colonial territory becomes independent.

Succession in respect of matters other than treaties was the subject of extensive debate during the Commission's 20th session. The aspects suggested for immediate study included public property and public debts, the question of natural resources, territorial questions, special problems arising from decolonization, nationality changes resulting from succession, and certain aspects of succession to the legal regime of a predecessor state. The predominant view in the Commission was that the economic aspects of succession should be considered first. It therefore

asked the Special Rapporteur, Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria, to prepare a report on "Succession of States in Economic and Financial Matters" for the 1969 session.

Two additional topics, state responsibility and the most-favored-nation clause, were also discussed by the Commission, but consideration of these topics remained in a rather early stage.

On December 11, in a resolution adopted unanimously, the 23d General Assembly noted with approval the Commission's intention to continue at its 1969 session work on the four topics mentioned above and to prepare, in accordance with article 18 of its Statute, a new survey of the whole field of international law.

Law of Treaties

The first session of a two-stage U.N. Conference on the Law of Treaties was held in Vienna March 26-May 24. One hundred and four states participated in the Conference which had under consideration 75 articles on the law of treaties prepared by the International Law Commission. The Commission's codification of the law of treaties, completed in 1966 after more than 15 years of work, represented a tremendous accomplishment. The rules and procedures governing the conclusion, entry into force, and termination of treaties had never before been readily available to governments, diplomats, and lawyers, and had existed only in the fragmentary form of arbitral awards, government statements, and scholarly writings.

The Committee of the Whole of the Conference adopted 66 of the

articles, deleted 1, and deferred until the second session in 1969 action on 8 plus 3 proposed new ones. The articles held over deal with two particularly important issues: settlement of disputes and conditions under which states may become parties to treaties.

A considerable number of improvements were made in the draft articles at the first session of the Conference. For example, the first paragraph of article 15, which concerned the obligation of a state not to frustrate the object of a treaty prior to its entry into force and which might have inhibited future treaty negotiations, was deleted. Article 38, "Modification of treaties by subsequent practice," was also deleted, and article 50, which dealt with treaties conflicting with a peremptory norm of general inter-

national law, was substantially improved.

Despite these and other improvements, the acceptability of the eventual international convention to the United States will depend on the inclusion therein of adequate procedures for the settlement of disputes arising under the invalidity articles. The chairman of the U.S. delegation, Ambassador Richard D. Kearney, stressed that the article proposed by the International Law Commission for settlement of disputes failed to give adequate protection to states against misuse of the invalidity articles. On May 21, in a meeting of the Committee of the Whole, he explained that his delegation had voted for article 50:

... on the understanding that it would be possible to establish a system for the impartial settlement of disputes arising

from the application of article 50 and other articles. If such a system could not be set up, the United States delegation would be obliged to reconsider its position on article 50 and on some other articles.

At the outset of its second session the Conference will consider a series of amendments dealing with impartial settlement. One of these is a proposal by 13 states which share the U.S. concern over the article suggested by the International Law Commission. The 13-state proposal would establish a conciliation-arbitration procedure for settlement of disputes arising under the invalidity articles; its adoption, or agreement on a sound conciliation procedure, would substantially improve the proposed convention.

The General Assembly did not consider the work of the Conference during its 23d session.

Special Missions

In 1960 the International Law Commission began work on what is called the law of special missions, or *ad hoc* diplomacy. This subject deals with the rights, duties, privileges, and immunities of temporary missions sent by one country to another to perform specific and limited diplomatic tasks, as contrasted with permanent diplomatic missions such as embassies or legations. The importance of special missions is exemplified by the current Paris meetings on Viet-Nam.

Since the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations dealt only with permanent diplomatic missions, the General Assembly requested the International Law Commission to continue this work. In 1967 the Commission completed a

series of 50 draft articles, and in 1968 the General Assembly's Sixth Committee (Legal) began to consider the proposed articles for inclusion in a separate convention.

In the U.S. view, the Commission's proposals were, on the whole, carefully considered and well drafted. They struck a reasonable balance between the interests of the sending state, which generally wishes extensive privileges and immunities for its missions, and the interests of the receiving state, which often wishes to limit them. The principal U.S. effort in these negotiations was to preserve the substance of the Commission's proposals while removing certain ambiguities in the drafting, so that the privileges and immunities granted would not be so

broadly stated as to be subject to abuse.

The Sixth Committee made considerable progress and adopted 29 of the 50 articles. On December 18 the Assembly unanimously adopted a draft resolution which had been sponsored in the Sixth Committee by Argentina, India, Iraq, Romania, and the United States, deciding that the General Assembly should complete the convention at its 24th session.

Many of the articles as adopted were significantly improved in substance and style. The important concept contained in article 2 that a state is under no legal obligation to receive a special mission unless it has consented to do so was strengthened and clarified. Draft article 2 had read:

A state may, for the performance of a specific task, send a special mission to another state with the consent of the latter.

As adopted by the Sixth Committee, article 2 reads:

A state may send a special mission to another state with the consent of the latter, previously obtained through the diplomatic or other agreed or mutually acceptable channel.

The last phrase emphasizes that the consent of the receiving state must be obtained *before* the mission can be sent, and that there is no unilateral right to send such a mission.

Another example of improvement can be seen in the clarification of the rights of the receiving state with regard to the appointment of the members of the special mission. Draft article 8 originally stated:

Subject to the provisions of articles 10 and 12, the sending state may freely appoint the members of the special mission after having informed the receiving state of its size and of the persons it intends to appoint.

As revised (on the initiative of Australia, Belgium, and France) and adopted, the article emphasizes the control of the receiving state over various aspects of the special mission, as follows:

Subject to the provisions of articles 10, 11 and 12, the sending state may freely appoint the members of the special mission, after having given to the receiving state all necessary information concerning the size and composition of the special mission, and in particular the names and designations of the persons it intends to appoint. The receiving state may decline to accept a special mission of a size that is not considered by it to be reasonable having regard to circumstances and conditions in the receiving state and to the needs of the particular mission. It may also without giving reasons decline to accept any person as a member of the special mission.

A number of important issues will be reached only in 1969. The most fundamental question remaining is the definition of "special mission." Draft article 1(a) reads:

A "special mission" is a mission of a representative and temporary character sent by one state to another state to deal with that state on specific questions or to perform in relation to the latter state a specific task

While the phrase "representative character" can be used to exclude low-level missions of a purely technical character from the privileges and immunities which the convention provides, the United States wishes to clarify further both the meaning of this key phrase, and article 1 generally. The United States does not believe that the convention should apply to low-level missions such as trade groups or government officials concerned with limited technical matters not involving representation of the overall interests of the sending state.

Friendly Relations

The Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations met in New York September 9-30.

Background

Acting in furtherance of article 13 of the Charter, which assigns to the General Assembly the responsibility for encouraging the progressive development and codification of international law, the Assembly in 1962 appointed a special committee to undertake an elaboration of seven legal principles basic to the international regime established by the U.N. Charter.¹

These principles concern (1) good faith fulfillment of international obligations, (2) cooperation among states, (3) peaceful settlement of disputes, (4) sovereign equality of states, (5) prohibition against the threat or use of force, (6) nonintervention in the domestic affairs of states, and (7) equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

At its first session, in Mexico City in 1964, the Special Committee adopted a statement on the principle of sovereign equality and reached near agreement on a statement concerning the prohibition against the use of force. At its second session, in New York in 1966, the Special

Committee agreed upon a statement concerning peaceful settlement of disputes and revised and confirmed the earlier text on sovereign equality. At its third session, in Geneva in 1967, the Special Committee completed two additional consensus statements—on the principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the U.N. Charter and on the duty of states to cooperate with one another.

Prohibition of Threat or Use of Force

Article 2(4) of the Charter provides that:

All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

Agreement on a full elaboration of this principle during the 1968 session was made even more difficult by the situation in the Middle East and the Soviet-led invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia in August. During general debate, U.S. Representative, Herbert Reis, expressed a view shared by many delegations that considerable doubt had been cast on the usefulness of the Special Committee's work by the Soviet Union's disregard of the U.N. Charter, especially the clear prohibition of the use of force in article 2(4). Following a Soviet assertion that the situation in Eastern Europe was not relevant to the work of the Special Committee, the United States replied with a detailed analysis of how the

¹ The Special Committee currently consists of 31 members: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, France, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Syria, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

Soviet invasion and occupation violated both international law and provisions of the U.N. Charter.

The situation in Czechoslovakia notwithstanding, some progress was made in resolving disputed points principally as a result of Soviet efforts to give the appearance of "business as usual." Subject to satisfactory completion of the statement as a whole, a drafting group was able to report agreement on the following statements:

GENERAL PROHIBITION OF FORCE

Every state has the duty to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Such a threat or use of force constitutes a violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and shall never be employed as a means of settling international issues.

CONSEQUENCES AND COROLLARIES OF THE PROHIBITION OF THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE

A war of aggression constitutes a crime against the peace, for which there is responsibility under international law.

In accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, states have the duty to refrain from propaganda for wars of aggression.

ACTS OF REPRISAL

States have a duty to refrain from acts of reprisal involving the use of force.

ORGANIZATION OF ARMED BANDS

Every state has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular or volunteer forces or armed bands, including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another state.

AGREEMENT FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

All states [shall] [should] pursue negotiations for the early conclusion of a universal treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control and strive to adopt measures to reduce international tensions and strengthen confidence among states.

MAKING THE U.N. SECURITY SYSTEM MORE EFFECTIVE

All states shall comply in good faith with their obligations under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, and shall endeavor to make the United Nations security system based upon the Charter more effective.

Problems remaining to be resolved on this principle were: (1) deciding whether to include specific references to international lines of demarcation; (2) working out a statement concerning military occupation and nonrecognition of situations brought about by the illegal threat or use of force; (3) the precise wording concerning the duty of states to refrain from instigating civil strife and terrorist acts in another state; (4) deciding whether to include a statement on the duty of states to refrain from the use of force against peoples of dependent territories; (5) deciding whether the term "force" is limited to "armed force" or refers also to economic, political, and other forms of pressure against the political independence or territorial integrity of a state; and (6) deciding whether "the use of force by peoples of dependent territories in the exercise of their right of self-determination against colonial domination" should be expressly recognized as a lawful use of force.

Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples

During its 1968 session the Special Committee held a general debate on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and considered draft texts introduced at earlier sessions. But there was no time for serious negotiations on the content of a statement.

Some of the difficult legal and political questions which the Special Committee will have to consider with respect to this principle at its next session are: (1) the definition of "peoples," (2) whether the principle applies to all peoples or is limited to the colonial context, (3) whether the principle goes further than national independence and also requires some form of, or progress toward, representative government, and (4) implementation of the principle, including the appropriate role of the United Nations in helping to bring about the end of colonialism.

Nonintervention

There was no time for either general debate or negotiation during the 1968 session on the final principle within the mandate of the Special Committee. In accordance with a 1967 General Assembly resolution, the 1968 agenda listed this item as:

Consideration of proposals compatible with General Assembly Resolution 2131 (XX) on the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, with the aim of widening the area of agreement already expressed in that resolution.

This formulation of the item reflected disagreement within the Special Committee on the threshold question of whether elaboration of this principle is necessary or desirable in view of the unanimous adoption by the 20th General Assembly in 1965 of Resolution 2131, the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the

Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty. Many members of the Special Committee reflected the opinion of most U.N. members that the Declaration is an authoritative statement of international law which should not be modified in any way. Although the United States voted in favor of that Declaration as an important political statement, it made clear at the time and continues to maintain that the Declaration does not constitute a satisfactory statement of international law and requires drafting changes.

Assembly Action

After consideration in the Sixth Committee from December 4 to 17, the 23d General Assembly unanimously adopted on December 20 a resolution requesting the Special Committee to hold a fifth session in 1969, "in order to complete, as far as possible, its work." The basic work of the fifth session will be concerned with nonuse of force and self-determination. The most critical matter in negotiating this resolution was the problem of how to refer to the Declaration on Nonintervention. The issue was resolved by including a nonprejudicial preambular reference and avoiding operative language attempting expressly to restrict the Special Committee's work in this regard. This satisfactory settlement of the question in the General Assembly is momentary and probably does not indicate any greater willingness on the part of the champions of the Declaration to consider substantive changes in it during the Special Committee's future work.

Definition of Aggression

The 35-state Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression¹ met in Geneva June 4-July 6. In a debate marked by a number of sharp exchanges on Viet-Nam, the Middle East, and the history of Soviet conduct in international affairs, the Committee considered several draft definitions of "aggression" but came to no agreement.

In 1967 the United States had not favored the establishment of the Special Committee by the 22d General Assembly and abstained on the resolution setting it up. This position was based on the conviction that the underlying reason for the violations since 1945 of the principles of the U.N. Charter had little if anything to do with an absence of more detailed formulations of those principles, but very much to do with a lack of will on the part of governments to live up to them. The United States feared that the proposed definitional exercise would serve largely to divert the attention of U.N. members from the real nature of the problem, while contributing little toward its solution. Nevertheless, the United States expressed its willingness to participate in the Committee whose mandate from the General Assembly was:

... to consider all aspects of the question so that an adequate definition of aggression may be prepared and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a report which will reflect all the views expressed and the proposals made

¹ Members of the Special Committee are Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Finland, France, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Norway, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

Special Committee Consideration

Early in the Geneva meeting various delegations made appeals to Committee members to refrain from references to particular, concrete controversies. The Soviet Representative, however, stated that he could not accept the appeals of other members and presented a lengthy attack on the United States for its actions in Viet-Nam, which he characterized as "aggression."

In reply, the U.S. Representative, John Lawrence Hargrove, set out at length the basis in international law and the U.N. Charter for U.S. actions in Viet-Nam. He challenged the willingness of the Soviet Union to apply the principles of the Charter to the situation in Viet-Nam, pointing out that the U.S.S.R. had repeatedly opposed and effectively thwarted any effort to have its views on Viet-Nam tested in the U.N. Security Council. The U.S. Representative agreed with the Soviet Representative on the relevance of actual events to the task of defining aggression. Recalling that the U.S.S.R. had been the "loudest and foremost proponent" of a definition, he examined a number of examples of Soviet international conduct since the 1930's as illustrative of the attitude toward a definition which the U.S.S.R. could be expected to take should one eventually be agreed upon.

On June 25, Algeria, Congo, Cyprus, Ghana, Guyana, Indonesia, Malagasy Republic, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia tabled a long draft definition, and on June 26, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Uruguay submitted a

second draft definition. In addition, the Soviet Representative requested the Committee to consider the Soviet drafts that had been before the United Nations during the 1950's, although it did not formally reintroduce them.

The 12- and 4-power drafts were debated at length, the U.S. delegation finding them inadequate or unacceptable in several important respects. They were eventually merged into a single draft introduced on July 3, just 2 days before the scheduled end of the session. The combined draft was sponsored by Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Ecuador, Ghana, Guyana, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Spain, Uganda, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

The 13-power draft would have the General Assembly declare, *inter alia*, that:

1. For the purposes of this definition, aggression is the use of armed force, direct or indirect, by a state against the territory, including the territorial waters or air space of another state, irrespective of the effect upon the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of such state, other than when undertaken by or under the authority of the Security Council or in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense;

2. In the performance of its function to maintain international peace and security, only the United Nations, and primarily the Security Council, has competence to use force in conformity with the Charter, and therefore the use of armed force by one state against another state, save under the provisions of paragraph 3 below, is illegal;

3. The inherent right of individual or collective self-defense of a state can be exercised only in case of the occurrence of armed attack (armed aggression) in accordance with article 51 of the Charter;

4. Enforcement action or any use of armed force by regional agencies may only be resorted to in cases where the Security Council acting under article 53 of the Charter decides to utilize for the purpose such regional agencies;

8. When a state is a victim in its own territory of subversive and/or terrorist acts by irregular, volunteer or armed bands organized by another state, it may take all reasonable and adequate steps to safeguard its existence and its institutions, without having recourse to the

right of individual or collective self-defense against the other state under article 51 of the Charter

In other paragraphs the draft listed specific acts such as invasion by armed forces, declaration of war, bombardment, and blockade that "in particular" constitute acts of armed aggression, and provided that other acts might constitute aggression "if declared as such by the Security Council." The draft also stated that no considerations except those in paragraph 3 might provide an excuse for the use of force by one state against another.

The U.S. delegation strongly criticized this combined 13-power draft. One of its most serious defects concerned the treatment afforded to "indirect" or "covert" uses of force. The U.S. Representative stated that the draft constituted an improvement over its predecessors in that, by including the words "direct or indirect" before the term "force" in the first operative paragraph, it did extend its coverage to various indirect uses of force such as the infiltration of armed bands into the territory of another state. It was, however, the U.S. position that any definition of aggression must deal fully and adequately with the whole range of "indirect" or "covert" uses of force. Such activities had accounted for a substantial portion of the violence that had been experienced in the international community since 1945, and no definition would be acceptable that failed to take appropriate account of these particularly dangerous forms of aggression. The 13-power draft was inadequate in this respect because it failed to include any such acts among those specifically enumerated.

A closely related defect in the U.S. view was that the draft's eighth paragraph specifically denied the right of self-defense against aggression when the aggressor happened to have chosen "indirect" forms of illegal force to pursue his objectives. This the United States regarded as seri-

ously at variance with the inherent right of self-defense recognized in article 51 of the U.N. Charter.

The United States also criticized the draft for extending the concept of aggression to include every use of force in international relations, expressly going beyond the language of article 2(4) of the Charter. The draft thus encompassed even trivial or *de minimis* instances of force, which in the U.S. view the Charter did not intend to be characterized as "aggression" invoking the maximum powers of the Security Council as laid down in chapter VII of the Charter. This feature of the 13-power draft, when taken together with those already mentioned, had the result of characterizing every international use of force as "aggression," while denying the Charter right of self-defense to a large and exceedingly dangerous class of aggressions.

The U.S. Representative noted a number of other defects in the draft, including the fact that it had improperly paraphrased articles 51 and 53 of the Charter, resulting in legal inaccuracies, and that in its first operative paragraph it appeared erroneously to exclude the General Assembly from U.N. organs that may authorize the use of force consistent with the Charter.

The discussion of the draft definitions was inconclusive, particularly as the last draft tabled proved highly controversial. On the basis of a last-minute Soviet proposal, the Committee voted to recommend that the 23d General Assembly authorize a further meeting during 1968. The United States did not agree that the matter was of such urgency as to require a further meeting during the year and abstained on the proposal.

Assembly Consideration

Debate on the report of the Special Committee during the 23d General Assembly was heavily influenced by

the then recent invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies.

The Sixth Committee met early in the session to consider the Special Committee's recommendation for a further meeting during 1968, but the U.S.S.R. did not press for adoption and after a brief discussion the Sixth Committee decided against it.

When the Sixth Committee turned later to a discussion of the substance of the report, the U.S. Representative, Senator Cooper, recalled on November 19 the background of the establishment of the Special Committee, and its work at its summer meeting in Geneva. He then referred to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and stated:

I do not believe that we can credibly talk of defining aggression without taking full account of such events as these. For there is no visible evidence that the makers of the decision to invade Czechoslovakia would have been restrained by some more specific formulation of the law of aggression formally adopted by the United Nations. And there is considerable evidence that they would not. We must be concerned with law for the world as it is if we are to have any hope of using law to make the world better than it is.

He pointed out that in 1933 the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia had concluded a treaty containing a definition of aggression which was to govern their mutual relations. In its invasion of Czechoslovakia the U.S.S.R. had committed precisely the acts characterized as "aggression" under this definition. Senator Cooper then recalled that during the first days of the Soviet occupation, the invading powers had relied on an alleged "invitation" by the legitimate authorities of Czechoslovakia to validate their actions under the U.N. Charter. When no person could be produced as speaking for the Czechoslovak Government, "the claim of invitation quietly disappeared." Referring to the two Moscow "agreements" which the U.S.S.R. "extracted from Czecho-

slovakia and which it hints may in some way legitimize the presence of the occupying forces *ex post facto*," Senator Cooper pointed out that both were so clearly extorted by force that neither could be said to confer any legitimacy upon the occupation. He continued:

... far from seeking to justify its action under the United Nations Charter, the Soviet Union has subsequently devised and announced to the world a new doctrine, unknown in international law, which on its face constitutes a rejection of the fundamental principles of the Charter and the whole scheme of relations among states upon which the Charter rests and which it seeks to establish.

The new doctrine, he said,

... breaches the principle of sovereign equality of states by denying the fundamental protection of the Charter to a whole undetermined class of states denominated, in the words of Foreign Minister Gromyko, as the "Socialist commonwealth"—presumably reserving to itself the right to decide which states fall within this class and which do not.

In short, the Soviet Union now claims the right to intervene by military force against independent countries whenever it deems the interests of the "class struggle" to require. In the history of the progressive development of international law under the Charter, this new doctrine is a monstrous regression.

Later in the debate a draft resolution was tabled under which the General Assembly would decide to have the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression

"resume its work," under its existing terms of reference, in 1969. On November 25 Senator Cooper reviewed the U.S. position on the substance of the drafts tabled during the Committee's 1968 meeting and summed up the debate on them in the following terms:

If there is any single predominant conclusion which the report of the Committee suggests, I think it is that the Geneva meeting disclosed deep cleavages of opinion, on a number of matters of fundamental importance to the law of the Charter, which existed among the delegations represented there. I do not say this to disparage the meeting of the Special Committee. The meeting of the Committee did not produce these differences of view but only revealed them. In truth, the meeting must be described as a businesslike and serious effort to grapple with a set of problems of great complexity and high political content But it is necessary for all, including those most dedicated to the definition of aggression, that any assessment of the work of the Committee be made with a realistic appraisal of the existing differences of view.

However, he indicated that the United States would not oppose renewing the Special Committee if the majority wished.

On November 26 the Sixth Committee, by a vote of 74 to 0, with 16 abstentions (U.S.), approved the draft resolution directing the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression to meet again in 1969. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 18 by a vote of 71 to 0, with 16 abstentions (U.S.).

U.N. Commission on International Trade Law

UNCITRAL,¹ established in 1966 by the 21st General Assembly, held its first session January 29–February 26 at U.N. Headquarters in New York.

The Commission took up such questions as the scope of its task, including the selection of topics and priorities; its relationship to other intergovernmental, governmental, and nongovernmental agencies; and the inherent organizational problems faced by any new body. The Commission avoided formal decisions wherever possible and approached the problems in a pragmatic *ad hoc* manner. It worked on the basis of general agreement and all its decisions were unanimous.

UNCITRAL noted all the topics suggested for its study and decided to give priority to the international sale of goods, international payments, and commercial arbitration. With regard to the international sale of goods, it decided to select certain aspects within this topic rather than attempt to cover the entire field. The selected aspects were the Hague Conventions of 1964 and 1955; time limits and limitations (prescription); and general conditions of sale, standard contracts, Incoterms, and other trade terms. Similarly, the Commission selected three aspects of inter-

national payments to be considered as a matter of priority—negotiable instruments, bankers' commercial credits, and guarantees and securities.

The Commission requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with other concerned U.N. bodies, to prepare a preliminary study on international commercial arbitration. In addition, it drew the attention of U.N. members to the existence of the Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards and invited those not parties to consider the possibility of adhering to it.

All the priority topics selected deal with private or commercial law and are thus consistent with the U.S. position, as stated by the U.S. Representative, Seymour Rubin, during the opening debate, that UNCITRAL should stay within the intended limits of its concern and confine itself to matters of private international law relating to trade.

The decisions taken by UNCITRAL all emphasized its role as a coordinating agency. The tasks envisaged for the ensuing year in working on the priority topics involved a substantial amount of cooperation with organizations already active in the field, such as the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT), the Hague Conference on Private International Law, the Economic Commission for Europe, and the International Chamber of Commerce. Each of these institutions agreed to assist UNCITRAL in

¹ The members of UNCITRAL are Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Czechoslovakia, France, Ghana, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Romania, Spain, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

the preparation of material for its second session, scheduled for March 1969.

On the initiative of the delegations of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and the United States, UNCITRAL noted the importance of increasing the opportunities for training experts in the field of international trade law and requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report with a view to establishing close and cooperative contact with organizations having responsibilities or concerns in the

field of assistance related to international trade law.

On December 18 in a resolution recommended by its Sixth Committee and adopted by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, the 23d General Assembly expressed its appreciation for the report of the first session, approved the program of work that had been established, and recommended, *inter alia*, that UNCITRAL "consider the inclusion of international shipping legislation among the priority topics in its work program."

Assistance in International Law

The purpose of the U.N. program of assistance in international law is to contribute to the understanding of international law and the training of lawyers in this field, especially in the developing countries. To this end the United Nations in cooperation with UNESCO and UNITAR carried on a variety of activities, including publication of a register of experts and scholars in international law who might be available to assist developing countries, compilation of a basic list of works on international law, a study on the national associations of specialists in international law, the provision of scholarships and fellowships, the provision of experts to developing countries, and a seminar on international law for advanced students and young government officials. In addition the United Nations supplied sets of U.N. legal publications to 20 institutions in developing countries and undertook to give wider publicity to international law and the legal work of the United

Nations. This included publishing in French and Spanish a book, *The Work of the International Law Commission*, which it had published in English in 1967.

The Secretary-General played a major role in coordinating these activities and advising and making suggestions to the various agencies operating portions of the program.

Although the program is modest in size and hampered by a lack of voluntary contributions, the United States believes that it makes a meaningful contribution to enhancing the rule of law in international relations by increasing knowledge and understanding of the role that law can play. In addition the contributions made by member governments and private institutions such as the American Society of International Law justified, at least in part, the hope of the U.S. Government that the program would encourage further private and governmental efforts in this field.

The United States is a member of

the 10-nation Advisory Committee¹ that assists in the planning and administration of the program. The Advisory Committee met during the fall to formulate its recommendations for the 1969 program, which will proceed along the same general lines as that of 1968. UNITAR will organize a training and refresher course

¹ Members of the Committee, appointed in 1965 for a 3-year term, were Afghanistan, Belgium, Ecuador, France, Ghana, Hungary, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. On Dec. 20 the Assembly reappointed the Committee for an additional 3-year term to begin Jan. 1, 1969; the only change was the replacement of Afghanistan by Iraq.

in Asia. UNESCO plans to expand its public international law program and has allocated \$100,000 to this portion of its 1969-70 budget. The Secretary-General will continue to award fellowships in international law and to provide advisory services of experts and sets of U.N. legal publications.

The 23d General Assembly reviewed the 1968 program and on December 20 adopted unanimously a resolution expressing its appreciation to the organizations participating in the program and authorizing the Secretary-General to carry out in 1969 the activities specified in his report.

*Budgetary,
Financial, and
Administrative
Matters*

Part Five

United Nations Budget

The initial U.N. budget estimates for calendar year 1969 were presented to the General Assembly's Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) by the Secretary-General on October 16. The estimates called for gross expenditures of \$140.5 million, compared with \$140.4 million appropriated for 1968 and \$130 million spent in 1967. In making his presentation the Secretary-General noted that a number of items of expenditure for which the General Assembly had voted appropriations amounting to \$7.0 million in 1968 had been omitted from the initial 1969 estimates. In addition to proposals on these items, a number of further proposals involving additional requirement would have to be presented in the course of the current session of the Assembly.

The Secretary-General called attention to the unsatisfactory U.N. financial situation and stated that "the situation has deteriorated further during the past year as a result of the nonparticipation of some members, as from 1963, in the financing of certain items of expenditure, notably the servicing of United Nations Bonds." He further stated, "In addition it has not yet been possible to utilize some \$5.8

million in nonconvertible local currencies which have been offered by certain members as their pro-rata share of appropriations for the regular program of technical assistance under part V of the budget, and accordingly it has not been possible to credit this amount as contributions received." He pointed out that the total shortfall in contributions to the regular budget as of September 30 was \$22.7 million. Stating that he was "only too conscious of the seemingly irreconcilable differences of opinion and principle which have so far frustrated all efforts to resolve our financial difficulties," he expressed the hope that "in the course of the next year or two and with patience and perseverance, ways and means may yet be found that will hold out the promise of the United Nations celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary as a financially sound and solvent undertaking."

The Committee also had before it the recommendations of the ACABQ which proposed that the Secretary-General's initial estimates be reduced by \$2.2 million to a level of \$138.3 million. Because of the several items in the budget for which no estimate had been submitted, a comparison of the estimates for

1969 with the appropriation for 1968 could not easily be made.

On November 8 Raymond D. Nasher spoke for the United States. He supported the reductions recommended by the ACABQ as a minimum and shared the concern expressed by many other delegations that if the budget grew at too rapid a rate the costs incurred would soon be out of proportion to the results achieved. He urged that means be sought to reduce the budget estimate without adversely affecting the execution of programs. The U.N. budget, he noted, had doubled since 1961; if that fact was borne in mind, it became imperative to ensure that the organization operated with maximum economy.

After expressing U.S. concern about the continuing deterioration of the U.N. financial situation and urging all countries in arrears to pay their assessments without further delay, Mr. Nasher added that his delegation hoped that those countries which were withholding certain parts of their regular budget payments would stop that practice because it only aggravated the problems confronting the organization.

Representatives of 66 other member states spoke during the general discussion of the 1969 budget, in the course of which the Secretary-General submitted additional requests for \$18.5 million, bringing his total request to \$159.2 million. The ACABQ recommended that these additional requests be reduced by \$2.1 million.

On December 20 the General Assembly adopted a gross expenditure budget for 1969 in the amount of \$154,915,250 in line with the total reductions of \$4.3 million recommended by the ACABQ from the Secretary-General's \$159.2 million request. The vote was 101 (U.S.) to 1, with 13 abstentions. This budget represented an increase of \$14.5 million over that for 1968. The increase was attributable principally to the general rise in costs;

an overall 5% salary increase for professional employees; the recruitment of additional staff for new or expanded programs, including increases in technical assistance and other economic and social activities; increased conference and secretariat costs resulting from decisions to make wider use of Russian as a working language; and increased appropriations for new construction and the rental of additional premises.

After deducting credits due for U.N. bond repayments and interest, the U.S. share of total assessments against members for 1969 was \$41,342,201.

New Posts

In his initial budget estimates the Secretary-General requested 607 new posts under various sections of the budget. The ACABQ recommended a reduction of about 25% in this number and reported its impression that there was an unevenness in the use of the staff already available to the Secretary-General. It believed that while certain areas of the Secretariat were under very great pressure, there was room elsewhere for curtailment or redeployment of staff. Accordingly, the ACABQ recommended that the Secretary-General undertake on an urgent basis a careful and detailed survey, preferably desk by desk, of existing personnel available to him, their deployment and utilization.

In the Fifth Committee the United States strongly supported the reductions in staff increases recommended by the ACABQ and proposed still further reductions. Specifically the United States sought support for a further reduction of 25% in the new posts requested by the Secretary-General. Failing to obtain sufficient support from other members for this additional reduction, the United States sought to defer filling 25% of

the new posts pending the completion of the staff utilization survey recommended by the ACABQ. Although this effort was not completely successful, the ACABQ-recommended cuts were approved as was the staff utilization survey, and in its report to the General Assembly on budget estimates for 1969 the Fifth Committee included the following statement:

... In the event that this survey indicates opportunities for a reorganization of work or a redeployment of staff, the Committee is confident that the Secretary-General:

(a) will in the process of filling the new posts authorized for 1969, give due regard to any preliminary results of the survey which may become available; and

(b) will have given due consideration to any available results of the manpower survey, when he presents his budget estimates for 1970 to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

As a result of additional requirements stemming from decisions taken by the General Assembly during its 23d session, particularly the decision to include Russian as a working language of the General Assembly, the budget, as finally approved, included provision for 505 new posts for 1969.

Expansion of U.N. Facilities

At the 21st General Assembly in 1966, the Secretary-General had emphasized the critical space problem at U.N. Headquarters and had drawn attention to the offer by civic leaders and foundations in New York City (later organized as the Fund for Area Planning and Development) to study, without expense to the United Nations, the question of additional accommodations for the organization in New York. The Fund's proposals, which contemplated a new office building in the block south of 42d Street and east of First Avenue, were reported

by the Secretary-General to the 23d Assembly. In this report the Secretary-General expressed the hope that arrangements could be worked out under which a substantial portion of the cost would be underwritten from sources other than the regular U.N. budget.

The report was discussed in the Fifth Committee December 9-11. The Committee approved the Secretary-General's proposal, concurred in by the ACABQ, that \$250,000 be appropriated to prepare detailed plans and specifications on which reliable cost estimates for implementing the Fund's proposals could be based. The U.S. Representative, in supporting this appropriation, stressed the acute shortage of space in the Secretariat building and the importance of eliminating rental payments for outside office space which would total about \$1.3 million in 1969 alone.

Although a number of delegations had suggested the possibility of transferring parts of the Secretariat away from Headquarters, for example, to Geneva, the U.S. Representative observed that certain parts of the United Nations could function efficiently only so long as they were not arbitrarily separated. He also pointed out that the Assembly would not be required to decide on the implementation of the project until 1969.

On December 21 the General Assembly, by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 11, with 6 abstentions, adopted a resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to have prepared the proposed detailed plans and specifications and to report to the 24th Assembly on the results.

The Secretary-General was further requested to report "on the problem of accommodation at Headquarters considered in the over-all context of the development of the United Nations during the next twenty years and the disposition of staff during this period in relation to available and potential accommodation in

New York, Geneva or at United Nations offices at other localities."

A proposal for an extension to the Palais des Nations in Geneva at a cost of \$15 million had been approved by the 21st Assembly in 1966. The 23d Assembly, by a unanimous vote, authorized the Secretary-General to proceed with revised construction plans at an estimated total cost of \$22 million. Host country assistance will be provided by a gift from Switzerland of 4 million Swiss francs (\$925,000) and by a Swiss loan to be repaid in annual installments from the regular budget through 1982.

U.N. Bonds

The method of repaying U.N. bonds again became an important issue in 1968.

In the course of its deliberations on the U.N. budget, the Fifth Committee adopted on December 5 by a vote of 29 to 28 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions, a resolution cosponsored by Argentina, Brazil, India, and Nigeria which noted that "many delegations have expressed strong reservations concerning the financing of the bonds through the same procedure applied to other expenditure items in the regular budget," and requested the ACABQ "to study the question of the amortization of and payment of interest on the United Nations bonds, in the light of the debates held at the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third sessions of the General Assembly and the proposals presented to it, and to submit a report to the twenty-fourth session on its recommendations."

The proponents of this resolution maintained that since special scales of assessment for the financing of peacekeeping operations had been approved by the General Assembly,

the repayment of bonds, the proceeds of which had been used mainly to meet expenses of peacekeeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East, ought also to be based on a special scale. Other members, including the United States, objected to the resolution as an attempt to change the agreed method of repayment of the bonds. This contractual relationship, solemnly entered into between the bondholders and the United Nations, could not be unilaterally altered. Any attempt to do so would constitute a major breach of faith and raise serious doubts about the credit standing and reliability of the United Nations.

When the Fifth Committee's resolution was debated in plenary on December 21, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Wiggins, called attention to the 16th General Assembly resolution, printed on the face of the bonds, which stated in its third operative paragraph that the General Assembly "*Decides* to include annually in the regular budget of the United Nations, beginning with the budget for the year 1963, an amount sufficient to pay the interest charges on such bonds and the instalments of principal due on the bonds." Ambassador Wiggins reminded the Assembly that "64 governments, including the United States, in presenting the request for purchase of United Nations bonds to their respective parliaments, relied on the commitment of the General Assembly as to the basis on which the bonds would be repaid." The U.S. Representative then said:

This may not be the last time that the United Nations finds it necessary to resort to an issue of its bonds in order to meet a financial crisis. It will be a poor assurance to any future bond purchaser if the United Nations has to acknowledge that it is willing to reconsider the terms nominated in its bonds, to revise the method of repayment or to diminish the reliability of the source of that repayment.

. . . I am obliged to say that if the Assembly were to make a change in the

methods, terms, or conditions of repayment of the bonds, the United States would have to take a very hard look at the entire range of United Nations finances.

In the subsequent plenary vote the General Assembly first recognized that the resolution was a

budgetary question and therefore, under article 18, paragraph 2 of the U.N. Charter, an important question requiring decision by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. The resolution was then decisively defeated by a vote of 34 to 51 (U.S.), with 33 abstentions.

Implementation of Committee of 14 Report

The Fifth Committee considered the Secretary-General's second report on the implementation of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (Committee of 14). These recommendations for major improvements in the administrative and budgetary practices of the organizations in the U.N. family had been unanimously approved by the 21st Assembly, and throughout both 1967 and 1968 U.S. Representatives in various U.N. organs and in specialized agencies had taken the lead in urging their implementation.

The U.S. Representative, Mr. Nasher, addressed the Fifth Committee on this question on November 20. Stating that the United States attributed great significance to the Committee of 14 recommendations, he urged the Fifth Committee to press for their fullest possible implementation. He pointed out that putting the recommendations into effect would help to ensure that the limited resources of the United Nations and the specialized agencies were used to the fullest extent and

that important programs would not be impaired by poor administrative and budgetary practices.

Noting that significant progress in implementing the Committee of 14 recommendations had been made, the U.S. Representative observed that the Joint Inspection Unit¹ was now in operation, that the U.N. Secretariat had made progress in improving its budget presentation, that the ILO had adopted a biennial budget, and that the IAEA had established a 6-year cycle of long-term planning. The Committee of 14, he said, had established within the U.N. family a climate of interest in budgetary and financial reform; every effort should be made to take advantage of this and push ahead with implementation of the recommendations.

The U.S. Representative went on to list areas where the implementa-

¹ Eight experts serving in their individual capacities. The purpose of the Unit is to ensure that the activities of U.N. organizations are carried out in the most economical way with the optimum use of available resources. The members may make on-the-spot inquiries and investigations as they see fit.

tion of the recommendations had been inadequate: long-term planning, program formulation and budget preparation, program evaluation, and effective control over the proliferation of conferences and documentation.

Mr. Nasher commended ECOSOC and its Committee for Program and Coordination for their work in improving the process of program review. Their combined efforts, he said, were showing promise that an order of program priorities would be developed and an evaluation system established. A good start had been made, but much remained to be done.

In conclusion the U.S. Representative stated that the essential goal should be "to insure concrete action on the part of the United Nations and the specialized agencies

as rapidly as possible." He suggested that a deadline be set for full implementation of the Committee of 14 recommendations and expressed the hope, in line with the suggestion of the ACABQ, that this be no later than the 25th General Assembly.

On December 21, on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution urging full and speedy implementation of the remaining recommendations of the Committee of 14. The resolution also called upon the Secretary-General to submit to the 25th General Assembly "a full and detailed report indicating clearly and succinctly in individual sections the extent of progress made" by each U.N. organ and body in implementing the recommendations "and the reasons for non-implementation, when applicable."

Conferences and Documentation

For a number of years the United Nations has sought to control the rapid proliferation of conferences and the increasing volume of documentation. The two problems are closely related in that most of the documentation is prepared either for consideration by representatives attending conferences or to report on actions taken at conferences. Further, if conferences are not properly spaced, preparation of documentation becomes too great a burden for the Secretariat. Concern over the increasing volume of documentation is not restricted to the question of costs; representatives have repeatedly expressed their inability to digest the large mass of material involved.

Conferences

The 21st General Assembly established a 15-member Committee on Conferences to develop a calendar of meetings for the United Nations which would be submitted to the General Assembly for approval. The United States is a member of the Committee.

In 1967 the Committee was able to make only a few recommendations concerning the 1968 calendar, but it was hoped that its impact in 1968 would be greater.

The 22d Assembly had requested the Committee to meet as early as possible in 1968 to begin its examination of the schedule of U.N. con-

ferences and meetings for 1969 and 1970 and to submit to the 23d Assembly recommendations on the pattern of conferences for the years 1969, 1970, and 1971, and on the definition of the term "major special conference." (A 20th General Assembly resolution had stated that "not more than one major special conference of the United Nations shall be scheduled in any one year.")

The Committee on Conferences met 13 times between March 1 and April 23. In the course of these meetings, both at U.N. Headquarters and in Geneva, it discussed with representatives of various departments and divisions of the Secretariat and with representatives of UNCTAD, UNDP, UNIDO, and UNITAR the meeting schedules and work programs of the bodies for which the officers were responsible.

In its report the Committee called attention to statements by the Secretary-General and the President of ECOSOC in their respective annual reports which, it said, confirmed "both the long-standing nature of the question and the widespread recognition that the situation has assumed critical proportions."

The Secretary-General stated:

Difficulties continued to be met in servicing the growing number of meetings and conferences, and in coping with the increasing volume of documentation. The concern expressed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions that the problems of locating and recruiting the hundreds of qualified technical staff needed to service such conferences had assumed proportions so great as to raise doubts whether all the conferences scheduled for 1968 could be staffed adequately, has indeed been justified by events. As a result it has sometimes not been possible to accommodate some of the meetings that were desired, and in a number of cases documentation has not been available on time in all the necessary languages.

The President of ECOSOC had stated:

The Council has unfortunately not yet succeeded in making much headway in its efforts to solve the related problems of an overloaded calendar of meetings, overcrowded agenda and an excessive amount of documentation—problems which are placing an almost unbearable strain on delegations, particularly on those of the developing countries. At the forty-fifth session, indeed, many references were made to these crucial problems, but—ironically—their very seriousness prevented the Council from dealing with them in the time at its disposal. They are, however, problems to which the Council intends to—and indeed must—return in the near future, for a solution to them is imperative if the Council is to continue to make a useful contribution to international cooperation for development.

However, there were no major strides toward resolution of the problem during the 23d General Assembly. The Committee on Conferences took the position that "in the final analysis it is the responsibility of member states to take decisions, reflecting a sense of discipline, that would halt and reverse the steady trend towards an ineffective and unproductive conference program."

The Committee suggested that the Assembly establish an arrangement whereby proposals for significant changes in the approved calendar would have to be reviewed by "an intermediary body." The Committee made it clear that it would be prepared to assume such responsibility and would consider this a logical extension of its present mandate.

The Committee also suggested that the Assembly invite certain bodies now meeting more frequently to review the possibility of meeting only once a year, and that ECOSOC invite specified functional and regional commissions which now hold annual sessions to consider meeting biennially.

The Committee agreed that it would be appropriate to define "special" conferences as those (1)

not part of the regular program, (2) convened in response to particular resolutions of the General Assembly or ECOSOC, and (3) for which specific additional budgetary provision is made. The U.S. member of the Committee suggested a number of criteria (cost, number of participants, duration, level of services required), which would help determine the point at which "special" conferences assumed "major" proportions. However the majority of the Committee concluded that "it does not appear feasible at this time, on the basis of one or all of those factors, to devise a useful working definition of the term 'major special conference' that would be relevant in all situations."

Publications and Documentation

Because the problem of documentation is inextricably linked with the general question of conferences and meetings, the Committee on Conferences spent considerable time on the subject at the beginning of the year. In its report the Committee indicated that of the many aspects of the documentation question, it felt those concerning the preparation and publication of official records, supplements, and annexes of U.N. organs fell most clearly within its terms of reference. Concentrating on the matter of summary records, it recommended that all bodies, other than those it specifically listed, should be asked to dispense with such records and indicated its intention to return to the subject in 1969.

Assembly Action

The Fifth Committee considered the question December 16-19, and on December 21 the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution that took note of the report of the Committee on Conferences; approved the calendar of U.N. conferences and meetings for 1969 contained in an annex of the Committee's report; requested U.N. bodies to review their meetings programs; decided that no meetings not covered by the 1969 calendar, except those of an emergency character, should be convened; and further decided that all proposals for new conferences and meetings made during the regular session of the General Assembly were subject to the recommendations of the Committee on Conferences as well as to final approval by the General Assembly. The resolution also reaffirmed the general principle that U.N. bodies should meet at their respective headquarters (but listed certain exceptions); decided that as a general rule not more than one major special conference should be scheduled in any one year; urged all U.N. organs and subsidiary bodies to plan their future conferences and meetings in accordance with certain recommendations of the Committee of 14 relating to the availability of resources; endorsed the ECOSOC resolution that requested its subsidiary organs to consider dispensing with summary records; requested all organs, other than those listed in a specified paragraph of the Committee on Conferences' report, to consider dispensing with summary records; and requested the Committee on Conferences to submit to the 24th General Assembly recommendations on the pattern of conferences for 1970, 1971, and 1972.

U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: UNFICYP

The costs of UNFICYP are met by governments providing troop contingents and by voluntary contributions. The Secretary-General estimated that the cash cost to the United Nations of maintaining the Force in 1968 was \$18,500,000, compared with \$19,865,000 for 1967. The lower cost reflected a 25% reduction in the Force during the last quarter of 1968. Total UNFICYP costs for the 57-month period beginning March 27, 1964, and ending December 15, 1968, were estimated

at \$95,835,000. Voluntary pledges for 1968 were \$15,198,015, bringing the total pledges for the 57-month period to \$89,038,633, or \$6,796,367 less than total estimated requirements.

The United States pledged cash contributions of \$8.0 million toward the 1968 expenses of UNFICYP. U.S. pledges for the 57-month period totaled \$40.1 million. In addition the United States also provided through 1965, air transport services valued at \$1,254,107 for the rotation of troops and equipment.

Assessments

The U.S. percentage shares of the assessment budgets of the United

Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA are listed below:

	1968 Percent	1969 Percent
United Nations	31.57	31.57
FAO	31.91	31.91
ICAO	31.28	30.87
ILO	25.00	25.00
IMCO	10.67	9.82
ITU	11.68	11.62
UNESCO	29.94	29.73
UPU	4.27	4.25
WHO	31.20	30.87
WMO	23.93	23.89
IAEA	31.86	31.57

U.N. Scale of Assessments

The scale of assessments approved by the 22d General Assembly for apportioning U.N. expenses for the 3-year period 1968-70 was the subject of extended debate during the 23d Assembly. At the end of this debate the Assembly approved a resolution requesting the Committee on Contributions to keep under review the criteria it uses in establishing the assessment scale and to submit a report in 1969 to the 24th Assembly. The Committee on Contributions is composed of experts who serve in their individual capacities; the Assistant Director for Statistical Standards of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Raymond T. Bowman, is a member. The Committee's membership was increased from 10 to 12 by the 23d Assembly.

The U.N. scale of assessments, within the limits prescribed by floor and ceiling principles, is based broadly upon relative capacity to pay, measured by comparison of estimates of net national product at market prices subject to modifications for low per capita income. Under the floor principle no member state is assessed less than .04%. With respect to the ceiling, the General Assembly, upon U.S. initiative, decided in 1957 that "in principle, the maximum contribution of any one member state to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations shall not exceed 30 percent of the total." In accordance with this principle, which is being implemented in stages, the U.S. percentage share had been reduced from 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % to 31.91% during the period 1957-67, and was further reduced for each of the years 1968-70 from 31.91% to 31.57%.

On November 12 the Chairman of the Committee on Contributions, in presenting the Committee's re-

port to the Fifth Committee, noted that although the current scale of assessments had been approved by the General Assembly, a number of delegations had expressed reservations, some questioning the appropriateness of the criteria on which the assessments had been established, and others the manner in which the Committee had applied these criteria. Nevertheless, after reviewing this matter, the Committee concluded that the recommended scale was fair and equitable within its existing terms of reference. He said that the question whether those terms of reference were still appropriate was up to the General Assembly.

During the debate in the Fifth Committee, certain representatives complained that under the present scale the developed countries, with only a few exceptions, had received reductions while the assessments of many of the developing countries had been increased. This result, it was maintained, was in conflict with the economic reality of the world situation. Some countries also expressed the view that the Committee on Contributions should review the appropriateness of the ceiling principle on the ground that it was difficult to justify a ceiling on the contribution of the United States, the richest country in the world, and that application of this principle resulted in shifting the burden of contributions to others.

On November 13 the U.S. Representative, Mr. Nasher, strongly defended the ceiling principle. He pointed out that from the very beginning the Assembly had concluded that there was no conflict between the ceiling principle and the capacity-to-pay principle and that every Assembly resolution es-

tablishing contribution scales had in fact incorporated a U.S. percentage contribution fixed on a ceiling basis. He then stated:

When one asks why the "ceiling principle" has never been considered inequitable by the General Assembly, the answer is not difficult to find. In 1946 when the first ceiling was fixed, it was recognized that in an organization of states asserting their sovereign equality, no one state should be permitted to exercise an influence which would inevitably attach to a financial contribution to the administrative budget which was too disproportionate to that of other states.

He noted that at that time the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg had said:

This is not a question as to what we can afford to pay. We—and you—can afford to pay anything, in material values, to achieve the goals of the United Nations. This is, with us, solely a question of what is right and wise and just as between partners in this common enterprise.

On November 21 the Mexican Representative introduced a draft resolution, cosponsored by 11 delegations, which requested the Committee on Contributions to keep under review its criteria in establishing the scale of assessments and its terms of reference, in the light of the debates on the subject at the 22d and 23d sessions of the General Assembly, and to report to the 24th

session. Several delegations, including the United States, expressed reservations concerning the propriety of asking the Committee on Contributions to review its own terms of reference. The task of the Committee, it was stated, was to apply the principles laid down by the General Assembly and not to question such principles without precise instructions from the Assembly on political matters. However, others maintained that the Committee was not being asked to make decisions of a political nature, but to provide the background necessary for final decisions by the General Assembly.

The 11-power resolution was adopted by the Fifth Committee on November 25 by a vote of 78 to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because, although it had never opposed technical adjustments in the scale of assessments, it attached great importance to the principles on the basis of which that scale had been established originally; moreover, it had strong reservations regarding possible changes in the terms of reference of the Committee on Contributions.

The General Assembly approved the resolution on December 21 by a vote of 109 to 0, with 11 abstentions (U.S.).

Budgets:

Specialized Agencies and IAEA

The assessed budgets of the specialized agencies and IAEA, which totaled about \$166 million in 1968, rose by approximately \$15 million to about \$181 million

for 1969. The \$15 million increase compares with \$12.6 million in 1968 over 1967 assessments and \$18.3 million in 1967 over 1966 assessments.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1969</i>	<i>Increases</i>
FAO.....	\$27, 420, 000	\$27, 420, 000	(1)
ICAO.....	5, 515, 000	6, 587, 000	\$1, 072, 000
ILO.....	24, 836, 091	26, 612, 739	1, 776, 648
IMCO.....	962, 921	1, 132, 320	169, 399
ITU.....	4, 982, 711	5, 072, 030	89, 319
UNESCO.....	30, 100, 000	35, 775, 000	² 5, 675, 000
UPU.....	1, 455, 000	1, 728, 627	273, 627
WHO.....	57, 934, 680	³ 62, 854, 300	4, 919, 620
WMO.....	2, 586, 909	2, 924, 406	337, 497
IAEA.....	10, 163, 500	10, 887, 500	724, 000
Total.....	165, 956, 812	180, 993, 922	15, 037, 110

¹ Second year of biennium.

² First year of biennium (biennial increase).

³ Excluding tax equalization fund.

The most important single factor in the budget increases is the rise of wages and prices to maintain the prior year's level of operations.

The largest increase is for UNESCO, which has a biennial budget and therefore will have the same assessment budget in 1970 as in 1969. Over \$3 million of the 1969 increase is for wage and price rises, necessary to maintain the 1968 level of operations. A further provision of \$1 million is for an across-the-board 5% salary increase for professional personnel, which was approved late in December 1968 by the U.N. General Assembly. Other increases provide for the improvement and expansion of programs in education, natural sciences, culture, and mass communications, and new programs

in agricultural education, conservation of resources, hydrology, and oceanography.

One-half of the \$5 million increase for WHO is for wage and price increases. Program increases include \$620,000 for education and training, \$510,000 for nursing, \$500,000 for public health administration, and lesser amounts for environmental health programs and maternal and child health.

The ILO increase includes \$1.2 million for wage and price increases. The major program increase is \$270,000 for the inauguration of the World Employment Program, which is designed to promote higher levels of economically and socially sound employment through properly integrated manpower and economic

development planning, training, and proper working conditions.

The 1969 increase for ICAO includes \$317,000 for wage and price rises and \$142,000 for the salary increase of professional personnel. There are also 13 new positions to help countries conform to the requirements of air navigation and the implementation of regional plans.

Over half of IAEA's increase is for wage and price increases; its most important program increase is to expand the safeguards program.

In addition to wage and price rises, the increases for the other organizations will provide for the second-stage development of WMO's World Weather Watch, the quinquennial Postal Congress, and two

meetings of the IMCO Legal Committee which was formed as a result of the *Torrey Canyon* disaster.

The United States and several other large contributors have formed an informal group to work together on budgetary and administrative problems of the specialized agencies. Permanent representatives of these major contributing nations of the free world hold periodic meetings at the headquarters of the larger specialized agencies for consultation on programs and budgets. In addition, top-level representatives of this group meet annually to review and coordinate their positions on overall policy. There is evidence that this grouping of major contributors has become a factor in moderating budget increases and improving administrative practices.

Voluntary Programs

A number of programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies are financed by voluntary contributions from participants rather

than by regular assessments on the members. Sizable U.S. contributions to programs in this category for the 1968 calendar year are as follows:

	<i>Amount (Thou- sands of dollars)</i>
U.N. Children's Fund	12, 000
U.N. Development Program	75, 000
U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees	600
U.N. Institute for Training and Research:	
Regular Contribution	400
Stevenson Memorial Fellowships	100
U.N. Fund for Population Activities	1, 735
U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees:	
Cash Contribution	13, 300
Commodities	8, 900
U.N. Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo	2, 150
Special Contribution for Viet-Nam	1, 000
U.N./FAO World Food Program:	
Cash Contribution	2, 000
Commodities and Shipping Services	14, 000
IAEA Operational Program	1, 000

Descriptions of these programs, except for the program of U.N. Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo, are contained elsewhere in this report. The Congo program, which started in 1960 shortly after the Congo gained its independence, is designed to provide experts and advisers needed to perform vital services until such time as trained Congolese are available to carry on the tasks. In 1968 experts and advisers were provided in the important fields of agricul-

ture, aviation, economic analysis, education, police training, public finance, public works, and transportation.

The U.N. program for the Congo continued to operate in 1968 under a funds-in-trust arrangement by which interested governments could make voluntary contributions. In 1968 expenditures totaled \$3.4 million. Assistance was also provided through the UNDP, the specialized agencies, and the Congolese Government.

Personnel

The year 1968 saw a continued growth in the regular secretariats of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. By December 31 the total of professional personnel had risen to 5,565 from 5,311 in 1967. U.S. nationals employed in the secretariats had risen to 789 from 765 although in percentage of total staff the number of Americans declined slightly from 14.40% to 14.18%. Among the U.N. organizations the percentage of Americans increased in the FAO, ITU, UPU, and WMO and declined in the United Nations, IAEA, ICAO, ILO, IMCO, UNESCO, and WHO.

The overall percentage decrease of Americans may be attributed mainly to the pressure from new member states to secure representation in the international agency secretariats and to the tight professional labor market in the United States. There is enormous competition from private industry, government, and the academic world for the services of the most talented

American professionals, particularly in the fields of economics and public administration. It has become increasingly difficult for the United Nations to match new salary standards in private industry, academia, and government. Continued energetic efforts must be exerted to improve the U.S. position, especially in the agencies located in Europe.

Americans occupy 17.57% of the staff positions in the UNDP. With respect to the UNDP technical experts, the year-end figures for 1968 showed a decline in the percentage of Americans employed from 7.90% to 6.85%; whereas the total number of experts increased from 4,299 to 4,593, the number of Americans decreased from 340 to 315. These figures represent the actual situation as it appeared on December 31, 1968 and 1967, and do not take into account the total number of experts employed during the course of the year, many of them for short-term assignments. In the United Nations, for example, the

total number of appointments to UNDP field projects in 1968 was 1,002 of which 157 or 15.07% went to Americans. (The United Kingdom, with 135 appointments, ranked second.) Nevertheless, it is evident that the United States, as the world's leading industrial country, should be participating more actively in the UNDP through a greater use of U.S. experts. To achieve this increased participation special arrangements will have to be made with U.S. industry to secure its cooperation in releasing experts; this possibility is being examined.

The 23d General Assembly, in a resolution adopted unanimously on December 21, requested the Secretary-General to apply, from January 1, 1970, as an acceptable minimum requirement at the moment of recruitment for the U.N. Secretariat (1) the ability to use one of the working languages of the Secretariat (English, French, Spanish, and, now, Russian), or (2) the ability to use one of the working languages of a U.N. organ, in the case of staff members recruited for one of the sections of the Secretariat working for that organ. Staff members in the second category will not be appointed on a permanent basis until they are able to work in one of the working languages of the Secretariat.

The Assembly further decided that from January 1, 1972, all grade promotions for professional staff will be conditional upon adequate and tested knowledge of a second official language unless the Secretary-General for reasons of proper functioning of the Secretariat decides to make an exception. Knowledge of a second official language, moreover, "will permit more rapid passage through the steps within each grade" and in such cases the interval between

steps will be 10 months instead of 12.

In a separate resolution, adopted December 21 by a vote of 81 to 17 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions, the Assembly decided to include Russian among the working languages of the Assembly and expressed the view that it was desirable to include both Russian and Spanish among the working languages of the Security Council. The United States opposed the resolution because it believed that the use of Russian was unnecessary to carry on the day-to-day work of the Secretariat, and the additional cost—estimated at \$2.8 million a year—was therefore unwarranted.

The International Civil Service Advisory Board at its 1968 meeting considered undertaking a study for the construction of a salary index which would be used to make automatic annual adjustments in U.N. salary scales between the major reviews of salaries. The Board decided that when significant changes in the cost of living and national salaries occur between major surveys, the Board would be prepared to advise on appropriate action. In view of the fact that U.N. salaries were based upon a review conducted in 1964, that outside salaries had risen by about 4%, and that other factors justified an additional 1% increase, the Board recommended that an interim salary adjustment be made on January 1, 1969, in the amount of 5% on gross salaries. This recommendation was approved by the General Assembly on December 21 by a vote of 103 (U.S.) to 8, with 3 abstentions. The Board also recommended that the maximum educational grant be increased from \$700 to \$1,000 per child. This proposal was likewise approved unanimously by the Assembly.

Appendixes

Principal Organs of the United Nations

The U.N. Charter established six principal organs of the Organization: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat.

General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 126 members are represented. These are listed below:

Afghanistan	Greece	Niger
Albania	Guatemala	Nigeria
Algeria	Guinea	Norway
Argentina	Guyana	Pakistan
Australia	Haiti	Panama
Austria	Honduras	Paraguay
Barbados	Hungary	Peru
Belgium	Iceland	Philippines
Bolivia	India	Poland
Botswana	Indonesia	Portugal
Brazil	Iran	Romania
Bulgaria	Iraq	Rwanda
Burma	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Burundi	Israel	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	Sierra Leone
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	Singapore
Cameroon	Jamaica	Somalia
Canada	Japan	South Africa
Central African Republic	Jordan	Southern Yemen
Ceylon	Kenya	Spain
Chad	Kuwait	Sudan
Chile	Laos	Swaziland
China	Lebanon	Sweden
Colombia	Lesotho	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Brazzaville)	Liberia	Tanzania
Congo (Kinshasa)	Libya	Thailand
Costa Rica	Luxembourg	Togo
Cuba	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Cyprus	Malawi	Tunisia
Czechoslovakia	Malaysia	Turkey
Dahomey	Maldives Islands	Uganda
Denmark	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Ecuador	Mauritania	United Arab Republic
El Salvador	Mauritius	United Kingdom
Equatorial Guinea	Mexico	United States
Ethiopia	Mongolia	Upper Volta
Finland	Morocco	Uruguay
France	Nepal	Venezuela
Gabon	Netherlands	Yemen
The Gambia	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Nicaragua	Zambia

The resumed session of the 22d General Assembly convened April 24, 1968, adjourned June 12, reconvened September 23, and adjourned that same day. The officers and committee chairmen remained the same as for the regular session of the 22d General Assembly; the President was Corneliu Manescu (Romania).

The 23d regular session convened September 24, 1968, and adjourned December 21, 1968. The General Assembly elected Emilio Arenales (Guatemala) President, and the chairmen of the delegations of Bulgaria, Canada, China, France, Guinea, Guyana, Iran, Lebanon, Mauritania, Peru, Philippines, Sweden, Togo, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States

as the 17 Vice Presidents.

The chairmen of the seven main committees, on which each member may be represented, were:

- First (Political and Security)—Piero Vinci (Italy)
- Special Political—Abdulrahim Abby Farah (Somalia)
- Second (Economic and Financial)—Richard Maximilian Akwei (Ghana)
- Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)—Erik Nettel (Austria)
- Fourth (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories)—P.V.J. Solomon (Trinidad and Tobago)
- Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary)—G.G. Tchernouchchenko (Byelorussian S.S.R.)
- Sixth (Legal)—K. Krishna Rao (India)

Security Council

Five members designated in the Charter as permanent; 10 elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms ending December 31 of the year given in the heading.

Permanent members

	1968	1969
China	Brazil	Algeria
France	Canada	Hungary
U.S.S.R.	Denmark	Pakistan
United Kingdom	Ethiopia	Paraguay
United States	India	Senegal

On November 1, 1968, the Assembly elected Colombia, Finland, Nepal, Spain, and Zambia for terms beginning January 1, 1969.

Economic and Social Council

Twenty-seven members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms ending December 31 of the year given in the heading.

1968	1969	1970
Czechoslovakia	Belgium	Argentina
Iran	France	Bulgaria
Morocco	Guatemala	Chad
Panama	Kuwait	Congo (Brazzaville)
Philippines	Libya	India
Sweden	Mexico	Ireland
U.S.S.R.	Sierra Leone	Japan
United Kingdom	Tanzania	United States
Venezuela	Turkey	Upper Volta

The General Assembly elected Jamaica, Norway, Pakistan, Sudan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia on November 19, and Indonesia on November 25, for terms beginning January 1, 1969.

ECOSOC held its 44th session in New York, May 6-31, the first part of its 45th session in Geneva, July 8-August 2, and the resumed part of its 45th session in New York, October 30-November 1, November 19-20, and December 5-6, 18-19.

Trusteeship Council

Two members* that administer territories, the four nonadministering permanent members of the Security Council, and one nonadministering member** elected by the General Assembly for a 3-year term ending December 31, 1968.

Australia*	U.S.S.R.
China	United Kingdom
France	United States*
Liberia**	

The Trusteeship Council held its 35th session in New York, May 27-June 19, 1968.

International Court of Justice

Fifteen members, elected by the General Assembly for 9-year terms ending February 5 of the year given in parentheses. Members are listed in order of precedence.

José Luis Bustamante y Rivero (Peru) (70), President
Vladimir M. Koretsky (U.S.S.R.) (70), Vice-President
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (United Kingdom) (73)
Kotaro Tanaka (Japan) (70)
Philip C. Jessup (United States) (70)
Gaetano Morelli (Italy) (70)
Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (Pakistan) (73)
Luis Padilla Nervo (Mexico) (73)
Isaac Forster (Senegal) (73)
André Gros (France) (73)
Fouad Ammoun (Lebanon) (76)
Cesar Bengzon (Philippines) (76)
Sture Petré (Sweden) (76)
Manfred Lachs (Poland) (76)
Charles D. Onyeama (Nigeria) (76)

Secretariat

The Secretariat consists of a Secretary-General, who is the chief administrative officer of the Organization, and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation

of the Security Council; the staff is appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

The Secretary-General is U Thant, of Burma, whose current term of office ends December 31, 1971.

United States Representation

United States Missions

U.S. MISSION AT U.N. HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, transmitted normally by the Secretary of State, in U.N. bodies. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government, on the one hand, and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York, on the other. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations.

2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress, and Public Law 206 of the 89th Congress.

3. Executive Order 10108.

4. Location of the Headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for

the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."

5. The fact that the United States, in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is the Department of State.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by other persons with appropriate titles, rank, and status, appointed by the President to represent the United States in the principal organs of the United Nations. These persons, at the direction of the U.S. Representative, represent the United States in any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council.

The mission has a staff consisting of a number of political, economic, social, financial, and legal advisers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative section. This staff assists the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political, economic, and parliamentary situations in U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other

delegations and the U.N. Secretariat; (3) preparation of policy recommendations to the Department of State; (4) reporting to the Department of State on consultations and developments in the United Nations; (5) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (6) administering of all public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations at New York. The administrative section assists the U.S. Representative by (1) planning for and administering conference operations; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, communications, and general services; and (3) the administration, personnel management, fiscal, protocol, and security functions of the U.S. mission.

U.S. MISSION AT U.N. EUROPEAN OFFICE IN GENEVA

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and other international organizations, the Geneva mission is responsible for relations with and for observing and reporting on activities in the political, economic, and social fields of the United Nations and the specialized agencies located in Geneva. These include the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development,

the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, and the World Meteorological Organization. In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of other international organizations located in Geneva and for necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to international organizations located in Geneva.

The chief of the mission reports directly to the Secretary of State and the Department of State. Instructions to the mission are sent by the Department of State. The mission works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies and the U.S. Mission to the European Communities.

OTHER U.S. MISSIONS

In addition to the U.S. missions at the U.N. Headquarters in New York and the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, the United States during 1968 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies located elsewhere.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency was maintained at Vienna, Austria, the Agency's headquarters. A representative responsible for U.S. relations with the U.N. Industrial Development Organization is also stationed in Vienna.

In addition, the United States maintained a liaison group in Paris for relations with the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and a similar group in Rome for relations with the Food and Agriculture Organization.

United States Representatives

THE UNITED NATIONS

Permanent Representative and Chief of U.S. Mission to the United Nations:

Arthur J. Goldberg, through
June 24

George W. Ball, from June 25
to Sept. 25

James Russell Wiggins, from
Oct. 4

Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations:

William B. Buffum

Deputy Permanent Representative on the Security Council:

Richard F. Pedersen

Representative on the Economic and Social Council:

Arthur E. Goldschmidt

Representative on the Trusteeship Council:

Eugenie M. Anderson, through
Oct. 4

The General Assembly

**RESUMED TWENTY-SECOND REGULAR
SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y.,
APRIL 24-SEPTEMBER 23, 1968**

Representatives:

Arthur J. Goldberg
William B. Buffum

**TWENTY-THIRD REGULAR SESSION, NEW
YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 24-DECEMBER 21,
1968**

Representatives:

Dean Rusk ¹
James Russell Wiggins
William C. Foster
John Sherman Cooper
Stuart Symington
Brewster C. Denny

¹ The Secretary served as Chairman of the Delegation, *ex officio*, during his presence at the session. At other times Ambassador Wiggins served as Senior Representative.

Alternate Representatives:

William B. Buffum
Louis Stulberg
Mrs. Harvey Picker
Raymond D. Nasher
Marvin L. Warner

SPECIAL BODIES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

U.N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine

Representative:

Seymour Maxwell Finger

Advisory Commission of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

Representative:

Dwight J. Porter

Deputy Representative:

Theodore A. Wahl,
until July 3
J. Thomas McAndrew,
from July 4

U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee

Representative:

Isador I. Rabi

U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

Representative:

Richard H. Chamberlain

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Representative:

U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Alternate Representatives:

Legal: Leonard C. Meeker
Technical: Arnold W. Frutkin

**Special Committee on the Situation with
Regard to the Implementation of the Decla-
ration on the Granting of Independence to
Colonial Countries and Peoples**

Representative:

Eugenie M. Anderson, through
Oct. 4

Seymour Maxwell Finger,
from Oct. 5

Alternate Representative:

Richard E. Johnson

**Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Commit-
tee on Disarmament**

Representative:

William C. Foster

**Special Committee on Principles of Inter-
national Law Concerning Friendly
Relations and Cooperation Among States**

Representative:

Herbert K. Reis

**United Nations Conference on Trade and
Development**

2d session (New Delhi, Feb. 1 -Mar. 29)

Representative:

Eugene V. Rostow

Alternate Representative:

Joseph Greenwald

**Trade and Development Board of the United
Nations Conference on Trade and
Development**

6th session (Geneva, May 6-7)

Representative:

Henry Brodie

Alternate Representative:

Herbert F. Propps

7th session (Geneva, Sept. 2-23)

Representative:

Joseph A. Greenwald

Alternate Representatives:

Henry Brodie

John McDonald

**Special Committee on Peacekeeping
Operations**

Representative:

U.S. Permanent Repre-
sentative to the United
Nations

Alternate Representatives:

William B. Buffum
Richard F. Pedersen

**Advisory Committee on the United Nations
Program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study,
Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of
International Law**

Representative:

Stephen M. Schwebel

**Industrial Development Board of the United
Nations Industrial Development Organization**

2d session (Vienna, Apr. 17-May 14)

Representative:

William Stibravy

U.N. Commission on International Trade Law

Representative:

Seymour J. Rubin

Committee on Conferences

Representative:

Seymour Maxwell Finger

**Special Committee on the Question of
Defining Aggression**

Representative:

John Lawrence Hargrove

**Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses
of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the
Limits of National Jurisdiction**

1st session (New York, Mar. 18-27)

Representative:

Arthur J. Goldberg

Deputy Representative:

David H. Popper

2d session (New York, June 17-July 9)

Representative:

David H. Popper

Deputy Representatives:

Leonard C. Meeker

William T. Pecora

3d session (Rio de Janeiro, Aug. 19-30)

Representative:

David H. Popper

Deputy Representatives:

Leonard C. Meeker

Vincent E. McKelvey

The Security Council

Representative:

U. S. Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

Deputy Representatives:

William B. Buffum
Richard F. Pedersen

Military Staff Committee

Representatives:

Andrew McB. Jackson, Jr.,
Vice Adm., USN

Andrew J. Goodpaster,
Lt. Gen., USA, to July 7

Ferdinand J. Chesarek,
Lt. Gen., USA, from July 8

Hewitt T. Wheless,

Lt. Gen., USAF, to July 12

Joseph R. Holzapple,

Lt. Gen., USAF, from July 13

Deputy Representatives:

Archer R. Gordon, Capt., USN

Ernest P. Lasche, Col., USA

James M. Boyd, Col., USAF

The Trusteeship Council

Representative:

Eugenie M. Anderson, through Oct. 4

Alternative Representative:

Richard E. Johnson

The Economic and Social Council

Representative:

Arthur E. Goldschmidt

Deputy Representative:

Walter M. Kotschnig

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

Human Rights: Morris B. Abram

Narcotic Drugs: Harry J. Anslinger

Population: Ansley J. Coale

Social Development: Marjorie McKenzie
Lawson

Statistical: Raymond T. Bowman

Status of Women: Gladys Avery Tillett

REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS

Africa

(Did not meet in 1968)

Asia and the Far East

(24th session, Canberra, Australia, Apr.
17-30)

Representative:

Arthur E. Goldschmidt

Alternate Representatives:

Herbert D. Spivak

Joseph L. St. Lawrence

Europe

(23d session, Geneva, Switzerland, Apr.
17-May 2)

Representative:

Roger W. Tubby

Alternate Representatives:

Herbert F. Propps

Leonard Felsenthal

Latin America

(Did not meet in 1968)

SPECIAL BODIES OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund

Representative:

P. Frederick DelliQuadri

Alternate Representative:

Katherine Bain

Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning

Representative:

James A. Moore

Committee for Program and Coordination

Representative:

Walter M. Kotschnig

Alternate Representatives:

Clarence I. Blau

Kathleen Bell

**Intergovernmental Committee of the U.N./
FAO World Food Program**

13th session (Rome, Apr. 17-24)

Representative:

Dorothy H. Jacobson

Alternate Representative:

Robert Rossow, Jr.

14th session (Rome, Nov. 11-16)

Representative:

Dorothy H. Jacobson

Alternate Representatives:

Frank R. Ellis

Robert Rossow, Jr.

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program (U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees)

19th session (Geneva, Oct. 21-30)

Delegate:

Graham Martin

Alternate Delegate:

Charles H. Mace

Governing Council of the United Nations Development Program

5th session (New York, Jan. 9-29)

Representative:

Arthur E. Goldschmidt

Alternate Representatives:

Clarence I. Blau

Robert W. Kitchen

6th session (Vienna, June 11-28)

Representative:

Arthur E. Goldschmidt

Alternate Representative:

Robert W. Kitchen

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND IAEA

Food and Agriculture Organization

51st session FAO Council (Rome, Oct. 7-22)

U.S. Member:

Dorothy H. Jacobson

Alternate Members:

Ralph W. Phillips

Robert Rossow, Jr.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

4th extraordinary session IMCO Assembly (London, Nov. 26-28)

U.S. Representative:

Frank E. Loy

Alternate Representative:

Willard J. Smith

20th session IMCO Council (London, May 14-17)

U.S. Representative:

Carroll Perry, Jr.

21st session IMCO Council (London, Nov. 25-29)

U.S. Representative:

Frank E. Loy

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

Henry H. Fowler, until Dec. 21

Joseph M. Barr, from Dec. 21

Alternate U.S. Governor:

Eugene V. Rostow

U.S. Executive Director:

Livingston T. Merchant,
until Nov. 1

Covey T. Oliver, from
Nov. 1

Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

Emmett J. Rice

International Civil Aviation Organization

16th session of the ICAO Assembly (Buenos Aires, Sept. 3-28)

U.S. Delegate and Chairman, U.S. Delegation:

Donald G. Agger

U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO:

Nelson B. David, through
Aug. 31

Robert P. Boyle, from Sept. 1

Alternate Representative:

George G. Sink

International Development Association

The Officers, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

International Finance Corporation

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

Henry H. Fowler, until Dec. 21

Joseph M. Barr, from Dec. 21

Alternate U.S. Governor:

Eugene V. Rostow

U.S. Executive Director:

Livingston T. Merchant,
until Nov. 1

Covey T. Oliver, from Nov. 1

Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

Emmett J. Rice

International Labor Organization

52d International Labor Conference
(Geneva, June 5-27)

U.S. Government Representatives:

George L-P Weaver

George P. Delaney

U.S. Employer Representative:

Edwin P. Neilan

U.S. Worker Representative:

Rudolph Faupl

International Monetary Fund

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

Henry H. Fowler, until Dec. 21

Joseph M. Barr, from Dec. 21

Alternate U.S. Governor:

Eugene V. Rostow

U.S. Executive Director:

William B. Dale

Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

John S. Hooker

International Telecommunication Union

*U.S. Representative, Administrative
Council:*

C. Hoyt Price, until Apr. 25

Thomas E. Nelson, from Apr. 25

U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

15th General Conference (Paris, Oct. 15-
Nov. 20)

U.S. Representatives:

William Benton (Chairman)

Alvin C. Eurich (Vice Chairman)

Katie S. Louchheim

James H. McCrocklin

Alternate Representatives:

Marietta M. Brooks

Robert H. B. Wade

Morton Keller

John A. Logan

U.S. Member, Executive Board:

William Benton, until Nov. 20

Katie S. Louchheim, from Nov. 21

Universal Postal Union

U.S. Representative, Executive Council:

John L. O'Marra

World Health Organization

21st World Health Assembly (Geneva,
May 6-30)

Delegate and Chairman, U.S. Delegation:

Dr. William H. Stewart

U.S. Representative, Executive Board:

Dr. James Watt

World Meteorological Organization

U.S. Representative, Executive Committee:

Robert M. White

International Atomic Energy Agency

12th General Conference (Vienna, Sept.
24-Oct. 4)

U.S. Representative:

Glenn T. Seaborg

U.S. Member, Board of Governors:

Henry D. Smyth

